

# MID-AMERICA

*An Historical Quarterly*

VOLUME XXIII  
(New Series, Vol. XII)  
1941

PUBLISHED BY  
THE INSTITUTE OF JESUIT HISTORY  
LOYOLA UNIVERSITY  
CHICAGO



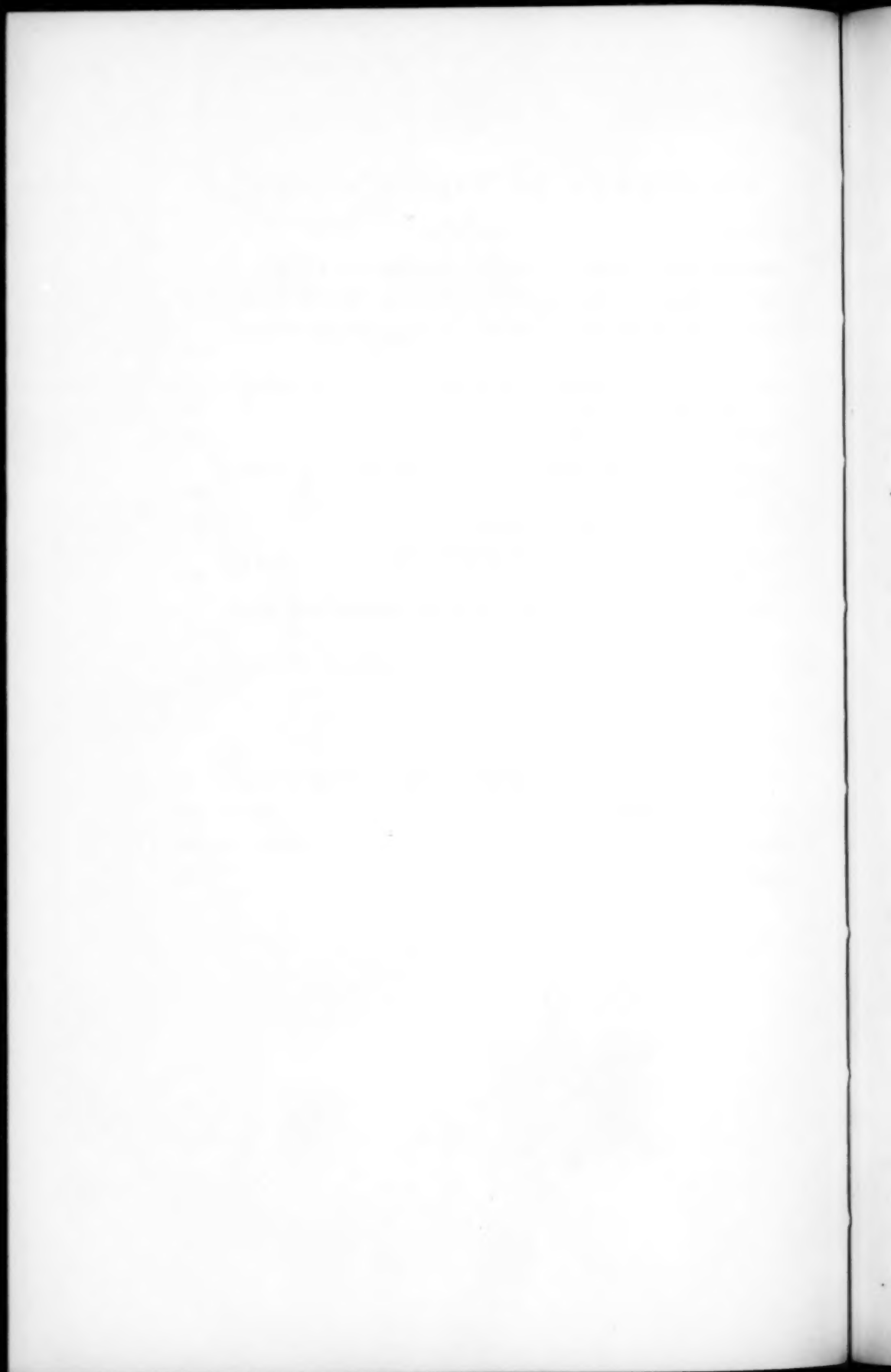
# CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXIII

## ARTICLES

HENNEPIN'S <i>Description of Louisiana</i> . <i>Jean Delanglez</i> . . . . .	3, 99
CAPTAIN ANZA AND THE CASE OF FATHER CAMPOS. <i>Peter M. Dunne</i> . . . . .	45
INVESTIGATIONS INTO THE CAUSES OF THE PIMA UPRISING OF 1751. <i>Russell C. Ewing</i> . . . . .	138
THE FRENCH OF OLD MISSOURI (1804-1821): A STUDY IN ASSIMI- LATION. <i>Harvey Wish</i> . . . . .	167
THE END OF A JESUIT LIBRARY. <i>W. Kane</i> . . . . .	190
L'ENFANCE ET LA JEUNESSE DE PIERRE LE MOYNE, SIEUR D'IBER- VILLE. <i>Guy Frégault</i> . . . . .	214
THE "DE SOTO MAP." <i>Barbara Boston</i> . . . . .	236
NON-ECONOMIC FACTORS IN THE FRONTIER MOVEMENT. <i>Gilbert J.</i> <i>Garraghan</i> . . . . .	263
TOMAS DE GUADALAJARA, MISSIONARY OF THE TARAHUMARES. <i>Peter</i> <i>M. Dunne</i> . . . . .	272
PENICAUT AND HIS CHRONICLE OF EARLY LOUISIANA. <i>Elizabeth</i> <i>McCann</i> . . . . .	288

## DOCUMENTS

POPULATION OF THE EL PASO DISTRICT IN 1692. <i>J. Manuel Espinosa</i> . . . . .	61
NOTES AND COMMENT . . . . .	85, 152, 315
BOOK REVIEWS . . . . .	88, 157, 251, 305
INDEX . . . . .	323





# MID-AMERICA

*An Historical Review*

VOLUME 23, NUMBER 1

JANUARY 1941

# MID-AMERICA

## An Historical Review

JANUARY 1941

VOLUME 23

NEW SERIES, VOLUME 12

NUMBER 1

### CONTENTS

HENNEPIN'S DESCRIPTION OF LOUISIANA . . . . .	Jean Delanglez	3
CAPTAIN ANZA AND THE CASE OF FATHER CAMPOS . . . . .	Peter M. Dunne	45
DOCUMENTS: POPULATION OF THE EL PASO DISTRICT IN 1692. . . . .	J. Manuel Espinosa	61
NOTES AND COMMENT . . . . .		85
BOOK REVIEWS . . . . .		88

PIERCE, *A History of Chicago: Vol. II. From Town to City, 1848-1871*; MILLING, *Red Carolinians*; JENSEN, *The Articles of Confederation*; DUNNE, *Pioneer Black Robes on the West Coast*; ARMSTRONG, *Chronology of Failure*; BRIGGS, *Frontiers of the Northwest, A History of the Upper Missouri Valley*; LANNING, *Academic Culture in the Spanish Colonies*.

#### MANAGING EDITOR

JEROME V. JACOBSEN, *Chicago*

#### EDITORIAL STAFF

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN  
WILLIAM STETSON MERRILL  
PAUL J. FOIK  
W. EUGENE SHIELS

RAPHAEL HAMILTON  
RAYMOND CORRIGAN  
PAUL KINIERY  
JEAN DELANGLEZ

Published quarterly by Loyola University (The Institute of Jesuit History) at 50 cents a copy. Annual subscription, \$2.00; in foreign countries, \$2.50. Publication and editorial offices at Loyola University, 6525 Sheridan Road, Chicago, Illinois. All communications should be addressed to the Managing Editor. Entered as second class matter August 7, 1929, at the post office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Printed in the United States.

# MID-AMERICA

## An Historical Review

JANUARY 1941

VOLUME 23

NEW SERIES, VOLUME 12

NUMBER 1

### Hennepin's *Description of Louisiana*

A CRITICAL ESSAY

#### PART I

Two years ago the writer published *Some La Salle Journeys*, in which a refutation was made of the contentions of writers who attributed two extra voyages to La Salle. Then the reviewers had their innings. One of them stated among other irrelevant remarks: "One cannot study La Salle's letters and memoirs adequately without determining who was the true author of Hennepin's book. . . ." Now Father Hennepin wrote four books that have come down to us, three dealing with North America, and the authenticity of none of these has anything to do with La Salle's alleged descent of the Ohio River in 1669-1670 or with his supposed voyage to the Mississippi before 1673. Consequently, any disquisition on Hennepin's *Description of Louisiana* or on his subsequent *New Discovery* and *New Voyage* in *Some La Salle Journeys*, however learned or interesting, could have forestalled a scolding from one reviewer only by inviting a slap on the knuckles from another as so much padding. One simply cannot incorporate any interesting historical problem of Valley history, much less a history of France, in any or every monograph, nor can one turn all avenues toward specific local interests, such as Hennepin. In Racine's comedy, produced in Paris the year after La Salle left for Canada, a garrulous lawyer, being urged to come to the point, solemnly begins his summing up with the words: "Avant la naissance du monde."<sup>2</sup> And the judge, yawning, begs him to please start with the Flood. While reading the review in question, it was difficult for the present writer to rid himself of the thought that, had the judge been of one mind with the reviewer, he would have earnestly

<sup>1</sup> *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXV (December 1938), 386.

<sup>2</sup> *Les Plaideurs*, Act III, scene iii.

requested the lawyer to please start with the *rudis indigestaque moles*, which the Greeks called chaos.<sup>3</sup>

The reviewer's suggestion, however, deserves serious consideration, in spite of its irrelevance to the book under review, if we assume that Hennepin's *Description of Louisiana* is meant. For the authenticity of this work is an interesting and provoking problem of historical criticism, especially if we try to examine it solely on a basis of the valid and pertinent evidence available to date. The present essay, based on just such evidence, arrives at a less one-sided solution than the traditional ones, and it shows that the book, instead of being a unit, divides itself into two parts; credit for each of these will be given where credit is due. First there is discussion of the two principal solutions and an hypothesis.

#### 1. PIERRE MARGRY'S SOLUTION

With regard to the authorship of *Description of Louisiana* Pierre Margry advanced one solution and John Gilmary Shea propounded another. Margry's view is as follows: Hennepin plagiarized a *Relation des découvertes*,<sup>4</sup> which was published by Margry himself in the first of his six volumes of documents dealing with discoveries, explorations, and settlements of the French in North America.<sup>5</sup> Among the documents of this first volume, wrote Margry in the introduction, there is "a relation of the Abbé Bernou which goes into greater details [than Tonti's first memoir] but it narrates only the events prior to 1681. Its main interest consists of the fact that it was presented to Colbert and

<sup>3</sup> Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, I, 7.

<sup>4</sup> *Relation des découvertes et des voyages du Sieur de la Salle*. . . 1679, 80-81, in Margry, I, 435-544; it has been reprinted from Margry with a page for page English translation by M. B. Anderson under the title *Relation of the Discoveries and Voyages of Cavalier de La Salle from 1679 to 1681*, Chicago, 1901. Three fragments are found among Abbé Claude Bernou's papers. The first, a four-page draft, BN, Clairambault, 1016:51-52v, with many erasures and corrections is in the handwriting of Bernou; the second, *ibid.*, 85-91v, is the same as the above, but in the hand of a copyist; both fragments cover only the first pages of Margry's printed text. The third fragment, in the same copyist's hand as the second, *ibid.*, 92-147v, covers from page 466 to page 540 of Margry's printed text. The whole relation is in the Archives du Service Hydrographique, vol. 67, n. 4. There are only slight variations between the third fragment and the complete copy; it is the latter which Margry printed.

<sup>5</sup> P. Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, 6 vols., Paris; two editions. The first four volumes of the American edition, without introduction, were published in 1876, 1877, 1878, 1880, respectively; the first three volumes of the French edition, with introductions, were published in 1879, the fourth volume in 1881; the text is the same in both editions. This collection will be hereinafter referred to as Margry, I, Introduction, xxi.

also communicated by the author to Father Hennepin." Of the last two statements the first is erroneous, the second can no longer be maintained in view of forthcoming evidence in this paper. The relation was presented to Colbert's son, Seignelay, who at the time had charge of the colonies.<sup>6</sup> This is clear from the title of Bernou's autograph memoir which accompanied the *Relation*, and also from internal evidence. Margry inserted the two words in brackets in the title of this memoir, as explained in footnote 6.<sup>7</sup> The circumstances of composition together with a comparison between the text of the *Description* and that of the *Relation* lead to the almost certain conclusion that the manuscript of the *Relation* came into Hennepin's hands through at least one intermediary.

Margry continues: "Now a comparison between [the *Relation*] and the *Description of Louisiana* shows that the impudent Recollect began his plagiarisms with this document, before he attempted to rob La Salle of the honor of his discoveries, and his good and loyal confrères of the merit of their writings." The subsequent "attempt" here referred to is the *Nouvelle decouverte*.<sup>8</sup> In this book, published in 1697, as well as in the *Nouveau Voyage*<sup>9</sup> published the following year, Hennepin asserts that in 1680, two years earlier than La Salle, he went to the mouth of the Mississippi.<sup>10</sup> He also claimed that what is printed in the *First Establishment of the Faith* concerning the exploration of 1682,<sup>11</sup> is a copy of his own journal, made by his superior, Father Valentin Leroux, and attributed to Father Membré by Father Le Clercq.<sup>12</sup> It is quite certain, however, that never at any time, either in 1680 or later, did Hennepin go down the Mississippi farther than the mouth of the Illinois River. No less certainly the relation printed in the *First Establishment* was not written by Father Membré; for this relation—which Hennepin claims is his "journal" of the mythical voyage of 1680—is an obvious variant of the so-called "Relation officielle," which in turn is a

<sup>6</sup> Mémoire pour Monseigneur [le marquis] de Seignelay, sur les découvertes du sieur de La Salle, au sud et à l'ouest des grands lacs de la Nouvelle-France, Bibliothèque Nationale (BN), Clairambault, 1016:190-193.

<sup>7</sup> Margry, II, 277-288.

<sup>8</sup> *Nouvelle decouverte d'un tres grand Pays, situé dans l'Amerique entre le Nouveau Mexique, et la Mer Glaciale*, Utrecht, 1697.

<sup>9</sup> *Nouveau Voyage d'un Pais plus grand que l'Europe Avec les reflexions des entreprises du Sieur de la Salle, sur les Mines de Ste Barbe, &c.*, Utrecht, 1698, Preface.

<sup>10</sup> *Nouvelle decouverte*, Preface \*\*6v, and 249 ff.

<sup>11</sup> C. Le Clercq, *Premier Etablissement de la Foy dans la Nouvelle France*, 2 vols., Paris, 1691, II, 253 ff.

<sup>12</sup> *Nouvelle decouverte*, 505; *Nouveau Voyage*, Preface.

compilation by Bernou, made up of a letter of Tonti, another letter of Membré, and some largely conjectural odds and ends about the geography of the Mississippi Valley.<sup>13</sup>

In the introductory footnote to the *Relation des découvertes*, after stating that it is the document presented to the Minister, Margry goes on to inquire: "But was this relation written by Cavelier de la Salle himself, or by a learned ecclesiastic who made use of letters from the discoverer to some of his friends and business partners? We are not yet in a position to decide. We shall explain elsewhere our reasons for doubt."<sup>14</sup> This air of mystery and the suggestion of future revelations are typical of many irritating features of Margry's compilation. When he wrote these lines, he had both seen and copied the covering memoir of Bernou; he had also seen Bernou's autograph letters and those of La Salle. It is impossible to imagine what "reasons for doubt" could have persisted, once he had all the above data; and, it may be noted, nowhere else does Margry tell these "reasons."

In his second volume, in a note on a passage of the covering memoir, he observes: "When we come to indicate the provenance of the documents, we shall make known the name of the most likely author of this *Relation [des découvertes]* . . ."<sup>15</sup> Later on in the same volume the *Relation* is said to be "the work of Abbé Bernou, a fact which I am now in a position to demonstrate, when I have to speak of the sources whence I drew the documents of this collection."<sup>16</sup> Turning to the list of documents at the end of the third volume, we read: "Several letters of this honorable clergyman [Bernou] prove that he wrote this official relation and that he is also the author of the memoir entitled by me *Mémoire d'un ami de la Salle*."<sup>17</sup> In the same list of documents, after the title of the covering memoir, we find the following note: "The author of this memoir seems to be the same who wrote the official report [*Relation des découvertes*] . . ., it is as it were its introduction, . . . considering the handwriting alone, the memoir is certainly by Abbé Bernou."<sup>18</sup> The handwriting alone would not prove the authorship of either the memoir or the *Relation*; but if we take into account the letters of the abbé, and his connection with La Salle, and the fact that all the explorer's

<sup>13</sup> Jean Delanglez, "La Salle's Expedition of 1682," in *MID-AMERICA*, XXII (January 1940), 1-27.

<sup>14</sup> Margry, I, 435.

<sup>15</sup> Margry, II, 283, note 1.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 306, note 1.

<sup>17</sup> Margry, III, 628.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 629-630.



letters from which the *Relation* was compiled are found today among Bernou's papers, and if we note further the style and use of words, and observe that the rough draft of some pages of the *Relation* with many erasures and corrections are in Bernou's handwriting, all these things taken together show beyond doubt that he is the sole author of the *Relation des decouvertes*. Not until 1879, in the introduction to the first volume of the French edition of his collection, did Margry finally make the categorical assertion that Bernou was the author of the document.

In the introductory note above mentioned, Margry further observes: "Father Hennepin knew this document [the *Relation des decouvertes*] and borrowed freely from it." He adds the reason for its publication: although much of what is in the *Relation* is already in print in the *Description*, yet, the events of twenty-two months are not recorded by Hennepin; moreover, "it is interesting to note the similarities between Father Hennepin's book" and the *Relation des decouvertes*. It is also interesting to note, he says, the "differences between this same document and the text of La Salle's letters, *from which it must have been drawn*, leaving out, however, all that was of a personal and confidential character." Not until 1881, five years later, did Margry realize that the statement italicized in the above quotation provided one of the most conclusive means of identifying the plagiarist of the first two hundred pages, that is, two-thirds of the *Description* proper. Several of La Salle's letters, Margry continues, because they are incomplete, could "not have been understood if published alone, whereas this narrative preceding their publication will at least enable us to see what is lacking in those letters, and will enable us to follow the sequence of events."<sup>19</sup> The editor is here speaking of a peculiar feature of La Salle's autograph letters. With two exceptions, they have been handed down in a mutilated form; in some the beginning is missing, in others both the beginning and the end.

In a note on the text of the *Relation des decouvertes*, Margry remarks: "We did not wish to point out [in notes] the passages of the *Description of Louisiana* where Father Hennepin made the changes to conceal his plagiarisms or to parade his vain person."<sup>20</sup> This note concerns a misprint in the *Description*, "per-roquets" instead of "pirogues," most likely the fault of the typesetter. Unfortunately Margry did not print the two documents in

<sup>19</sup> Margry, I, 435.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 466.

parallel columns, showing in footnotes how the ultimate source of the statements in the *Relation* is the autograph letters of La Salle; for this argument, together with the circumstances of composition, is irrefragable. Hennepin's unforgivable sin, in the eyes of Margry, was his claim to have gone down to the mouth of the Mississippi two years before La Salle. This empty boast sent Margry on the warpath. He seems to have been afflicted with the priority complex—a disease still endemic among those who busy themselves with the history of explorations. Hennepin claimed to have been the first to descend the Mississippi to its mouth, whereas this honor belonged to Margry's hero, La Salle. This same priority complex led Margry in another connection to make for La Salle a claim just as foolish as Hennepin's claim for himself—the honor of having sighted and navigated the Mississippi before Jolliet and Marquette. This fairy tale was no more successful than Hennepin's; but Margry did succeed in imposing on the world for a long time the myth that La Salle had discovered and descended the Ohio.

It is only fair to note here, regarding the priority claims of Hennepin and La Salle in connection with the Mississippi, that the former certainly sighted that river eight months before the latter. For Hennepin had come down as far as the mouth of the Illinois by March 7, 1680, whereas La Salle beheld the Father of Waters for the first time on December 5 of the same year.

The solution thus proposed by Margry of the authorship of the *Description* was accepted by other writers. But, remarkably enough, none of them formally discuss the authenticity of this book; and aside from Parkman's comments in a later edition of one of his works, the similarity between the *Description* and the *Relation* is merely given a passing mention. It should be noted, however, that the works of these other writers were already in print when Shea published his alternative and opposite theory in 1880, and though some of the writers were still living, Margry is the only one who took issue with Shea. In the introduction to his fourth volume, published in 1881, Margry recalled what he had written in his first volume with regard to the plagiarism of Le Clercq by Hennepin:

I also said that it was not the first trick of this sort which he played, that he had done the same with the now known manuscript of Bernou. This assertion has been contested; but assuredly it is impossible to explain, except on a basis of plagiarism, how there happens to occur in the *Description of Louisiana* a part of the text of Abbé



Bernou, who made use of the letters of Cavelier de la Salle, sent to him to keep Colbert informed of [the progress of] the undertaking.<sup>21</sup>

And in note 2 of this page of the introduction, Margry calls attention to the parallelism between a passage in an autograph letter of La Salle, a passage in Bernou's *Relation*, and a passage in the *Description*. This parallelism becomes an apodictic proof, once the circumstances and the time of the composition of the two accounts are ascertained; taken together these data upset the very foundations of Shea's arguments.

There may have been another reason for this neglect to inquire into the authenticity of the *Description*. After 1844, when Sparks in his *Life of La Salle* exposed the pilfering of Le Clercq's book by Hennepin,<sup>22</sup> the majority of those interested in the history of French explorations in North America during the seventeenth century believed the evidence against Hennepin to be as complete as it was conclusive. Attention was focussed on this literary piracy, and thus the other book received only a passing mention. Many, too, were content to note how the *New Discovery* is in fact a mere amplification of the *Description*, with nothing new except an account of the voyage to the mouth of the Mississippi, lifted in its entirety from Le Clercq. The confusion and misunderstanding thus caused could have been avoided simply by not discussing the *New Discovery* at all, and by centering attention on the *Description*, dividing this book into two parts, one of which is clearly a plagiarism of Bernou's *Relation*, while the other is Hennepin's story written by himself or by a scribe.

Among the various authors of this period who accepted, wholly or partially, Margry's solution regarding the authenticity of the *Description*, several are American writers whose opinions must be commented upon here. Others who wrote on this subject at the time, such as Gravier and Chesnel, deserve only a passing mention. Instead of bringing forward arguments based on a careful and detailed comparison of the texts, these latter took occasion merely to air their silly prejudices and their unbounded enthusiasm for La Salle.

<sup>21</sup> Margry, IV, Introduction, xvi.

<sup>22</sup> Speaking of the parallel passages in Le Clercq and in the *New Discovery*, it has been said: "Il y a corrélation évidente mais qui ne démontre pas que Hennepin soit le plagiaire." H. Lemay, "Le P. Hennepin, récollet, devant l'histoire," in *Nos Cahiers*, 1938, III, 359. This is true; the demonstration of plagiarism consists in the physical impossibility of making voyage to the mouth of the Mississippi during the specified time; and once the authorship of the journal of Membré—which Hennepin claims is a copy of his own—is ascertained, all reasonable doubts about the plagiarist are dispelled.

Harrisse's case is peculiar. In the introduction to his *Notes*, he wrote: "The most important document: *Relation des découvertes* . . . , box 64, number 4, could not be found."<sup>23</sup> This document is Bernou's *Relation* which has been discovered since. At the time when Harrisse wrote the above, in the early seventies, Margry had a copy of the document which he evidently did not communicate to Harrisse. The latter could not compare it with the *Description*, and had to rely on what Margry told him; at the time the two were still close friends.<sup>24</sup> Further on in the book, where he discusses at length the career and the claims of Hennepin, Harrisse remarks:

Long after La Salle's death, in a book published in 1697 [the *New Discovery*], which is nothing else than a clumsy amplification of that of 1683 [the *Description*], Hennepin claims as his the glory of having been the first to descend the Mississippi to the sea. . . . Messrs. Jared Sparks, J. Gilmary Shea and Parkman have not only done justice to this claim as impudent as it is false, but they have unmasked the plagiarisms through which this shameless monk so long abused the credulity of the public.<sup>25</sup>

He adds in a note that the details of this pretended discovery are all taken, many of them word for word, from the *First Establishment of the Faith* published in 1691. "This relation of 1683 [the *Description*] is in reality nothing but a pale copy of one of the memoirs of Cavalier de la Salle." Here Harrisse is merely echoing what Margry had told him, for he had not seen the document himself, and at that time Margry had not yet realized it had been written by Bernou.

As regards Parkman, it is well known how Margry's unwillingness to let investigators have access to public documents of which he was merely the guardian, forced this historian to recast in 1879, his *Discovery of the Great West*, first issued in 1869, the revised edition being entitled *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*. Although Parkman had, in the 'sixties, a manuscript copy of the *Relation des découvertes*, he did not have the

<sup>23</sup> H. Harrisse, *Notes pour servir à l'histoire, à la bibliographie et à la cartographie de la Nouvelle-France et des pays adjacents, 1545-1700*, Paris, 1872, xxiv.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Harrisse's letters to E. B. Washburne, "Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States in Paris," December 4, 1879, November 7, 1871. These letters are pasted on the inside cover of a miscellaneous collection of tracings of early maps with a binder's title "Cartographie du Canada," now in the John Carter Brown Library; and J. Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, 8 vols., Boston, 1884-1889, IV, 242.

<sup>25</sup> *Notes pour servir* . . . , 149-150.

letters of La Salle;<sup>26</sup> and, like many others, failing to distinguish clearly between the *Description* and the *New Discovery*, he considered the latter to be a later edition of the former.<sup>27</sup>

Two notes on the *Description*, which are not to be found in Parkman's *Discovery of the Great West*, appear in his *La Salle*.

This valuable document [the *Relation des decouvertes*] compiled from letters and diaries of La Salle, early in the year 1682, was known to Hennepin, who evidently had a copy of it before him, when he wrote his book, in which he incorporated passages from it.<sup>28</sup>

The other note merely has:

On his return to France, Hennepin got hold of the manuscript *Relation des decouvertes*, compiled for the government from La Salle's letters, and as already observed made free use of it in the first edition of his book, printed in 1683.<sup>29</sup>

Parkman seems not to have realized that these additional notes required many changes in his text; for he still speaks of Hennepin's accuracy, of his trustworthiness, and of the corroborative evidence supplied by the *Description*. The following passage, which is the same in the edition of 1869 and in that of 1879, may serve as an illustration, besides affording a basis for comment. After remarking that Hennepin had pillaged the account of the descent of the Mississippi as narrated in Le Clercq, Parkman ends a paragraph with the words: "The records of literary piracy may be searched in vain for an act of depredation more recklessly impudent." He then goes on to say: "Such being the case, what faith can we put in the rest of Hennepin's story? Fortunately there are tests by which the earlier parts of his book can be tried."<sup>30</sup>

From the context, the "book" here referred to is the *New Discovery*; but since up to the time he reached the Mississippi, March 7, 1680, the narrative in all that pertains to time and place runs parallel to the *Description*, the "earlier parts" mentioned in the above quotation can equally well refer to either Hennepin's first or second book. This conclusion is legitimate, for as we have seen, Parkman regarded the *New Discovery* as simply a later edition of the *Description*.

<sup>26</sup> *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*, Boston, 1907, 261, note 1.

<sup>27</sup> *Discovery of the Great West*, Boston, 1869, 124, note 4; *La Salle*, 123, note 4.

<sup>28</sup> *La Salle*, 150, note 1.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 262, note.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 230.

On the whole, [the earlier parts] square exceedingly well with contemporary records of undoubted authenticity. Bating his exaggerations respecting the Falls of Niagara, his local descriptions, and even his estimates of distance, are generally accurate. He constantly, it is true, magnifies his own acts, . . . yet, till he reaches the Mississippi, there can be no doubt that in the main he tells the truth.

The reason for the accuracy of those parts of the *New Discovery* which are taken from the *Description* is easily found: the accurate data, and the estimates of distances, are taken from the letters of La Salle via the *Relation des découvertes*. "As for the ascent of that river [Mississippi] to the country of the Sioux, the general statement is fully confirmed by La Salle, Tonty, and other contemporary writers." Nearly two decades prior to Parkman's *Discovery of the Great West*, partly because he lacked the letters of La Salle, or the memoirs of Duluth and of Tonti, Shea had cast doubts on Hennepin's ascent of the Mississippi; but no one else seems to have questioned the reality of this journey. Parkman must therefore have had Shea in mind when he next observes in a note:

It is certain that persons having the best means of information believed at the time in Hennepin's story of his journeys on the Upper Mississippi. The compiler of the *Relation des Découvertes*, who was in close relation with La Salle and those who acted with him, does not intimate a doubt of the truth of the report which Hennepin on his return gave the Provincial Commissary of his Order, and which is in substance the same which he published two years later.

This passage is especially interesting because of the reference to a "report." It is not easy to see what report could be meant here; and in the absence of valid evidence to show that Hennepin ever did give a report in writing at any time to Father Leroux, the statement that this is "in substance the same which he published two years later" becomes doubly difficult to verify; and one cannot help wondering how, unless he had the report given to Father Leroux, Parkman could make the comparison and assert the similarity between its contents and those of the *Description of Louisiana*.

*The Relation [des découvertes]*, it is to be observed, was written only a few months after the return of Hennepin, and embodied the pith of his narrative of the Upper Mississippi, no part of which had then been published.

As will be seen, this section of the *Relation* was written before the return of Hennepin to France, and "the pith of Hen-



nepin's narrative" in the *Relation* is taken from a letter of La Salle which reached France several months before Hennepin. The contents of this account, the context in which it is found, and the queer place where it appears in the *Description*, combine to indicate that La Salle very probably did not receive it from Hennepin.

In 1863, at a meeting of the Buffalo Historical Society, O. H. Marshall read a paper entitled "The Building and the Voyage of the Griffon in 1679." The present writer did not see this paper but a reprint of it in the collected writings of Marshall, which, as the editor says, "was afterwards revised and enlarged, and in its present form was published among the Collections of that Society."<sup>31</sup> In this Marshall wrote:

Its account [i.e., the *Description's* account] of the building of the *Griffon*, is for the most part, a bold plagiarism from the official record [the *Relation des découvertes*] of that enterprise which had been communicated, either by La Salle himself, or through his instrumentality, to the French Minister of the Marine, in 1682. Nearly all of Hennepin's account is a verbatim copy of that record; with here and there a slight variation, occasionally relieved by an original paragraph. Twenty-one out of thirty-two pages of his *Louisiane*, relating to the *Griffon*, are copied almost literally from the official document above referred to, now deposited among the Clairambault Collections, in the National Library of Paris.

At present the complete manuscript of the *Relation des découvertes* is to be found not in the Clairambault Collections, but in the Archives du Service Hydrographique. In the former repository there are now only fragments of the original document together with an incomplete copy. As was noted above, however, the covering memoir and the autograph letters of La Salle are in one of the volumes of the Clairambault Collections which contains the Bernou papers. In a note to his text reproduced above, Marshall asks the reader to compare the passages in the two accounts; giving the reference to the *Relation* as in Margry and to the French text of the *Description*.<sup>32</sup>

These examples will suffice to show how these writers accepted Margry's statements, with little comment except an

<sup>31</sup> *The Historical Writings of the late Orsamus H. Marshall . . .* with an introduction by W. L. Stone, Albany, 1887, 73.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 77. F. H. Severance in *An Old Frontier of France: The Niagara Region and Adjacent Lakes under French Control*, 2 vols., New York, 1917, drew the only logical conclusion if the *Description of Louisiana* is a plagiarism: "Very slight use has been made of Hennepin, who gives us little not found in more trustworthy form elsewhere," Preface, x.

occasional reference to the disturbing parallelism between the two accounts. None of them either forestalled or anticipated the difficulties Shea was to raise; and, in fact, to the best of our knowledge Shea's objections have never been squarely met by any subsequent writer. During the preparation of this essay one of the most puzzling questions was: Why did none of Hennepin's champions nor any of his attackers investigate more thoroughly the makeup of the *Description*? If Margry had not sufficient money to carry on this inquiry, why did not someone who had the necessary funds follow the method so ably employed by Sparks in 1844 as regards the plagiarism of Le Clercq's book by the author of the *New Discovery*?

J. H. Perkins reviewing Sparks' *Life of Marquette* in the *North American Review* of 1839 made a suggestion which should have been acted on long ago, considering what abundant documentation for the early exploration of the Great Lakes Region and the Mississippi Valley has long been available. "We would suggest . . . the appointment of committees to examine and report upon works of doubtful authenticity such as Hennepin's *New Discovery*, Tonti's *Journal*, and La Hontan's *Account of the Long River*. . . ."<sup>33</sup> To this list should certainly be added the *Description of Louisiana*, the *First Establishment of the Faith*, and several other "original," "authentic" accounts. Perhaps the reason why Perkins' suggestion was unheeded is that the task, although of paramount importance for history, is an unenviable and thankless one. Litterateurs, sentimental amateurs, and romantic dilettanti are ever ready to vociferate loudly against the iconoclast who presumes to strip off the plumes, ribbons, tinsel, and colorful trappings, with which they themselves have without warrant bedecked their heroes.

In spite of much sound work already done to correct the mistaken notion that history is a branch of rhetoric, this idea is still influencing more people than one would think. Doubtless one should not be particularly alarmed by such titles of historical books and papers as "The Lure of . . .," "The Glamor of . . .," "The Romance of . . .," "The Poetry of . . .," etc. And in the face of so much evidence to the contrary, no one would wish to maintain that good history cannot be good literature. But what is alarming is to see how readily a piece of entertaining literature, wherein imagination is given free reign at the expense of historical accuracy and regard for facts, may be foisted upon

<sup>33</sup> *North American Review*, XLVIII, 1839, 108.

the public as genuine history. On the other hand, the disproof of a legend, the exposure of a forgery, the critical investigation of a document's authorship, the elimination of spurious documents and the detection of false ascriptions, the analysis of documents with a view to determining the sources whence they were derived—all these necessary labors in the interests of historical accuracy, are still looked upon by not a few as so many major tragedies. And only too often, the historian who undertakes such unpleasant tasks might just as well resign himself to see the good old legend appear in print as if nothing had happened. In questions of authenticity which are not settled beyond possibility of debate, it would of course be excessively optimistic to expect that every reference to such matters should take the form of serious discussion supported by valid evidence in favor of the genuinity of the documents involved; but merely to mention in passing, and in such fashion as to express pained surprise or supercilious wonderment, the fact that these documents have been spoken of as questionably authentic, is not likely to contribute to the improvement of historical writing.

As regards Winsor, it is worth noting that he did not fully subscribe to the view either of Margry or of Shea. In the *Narrative and Critical History of America*, the essay entitled "Father Louis Hennepin and his real or disputed Discoveries," which is an original contribution of Winsor himself,<sup>34</sup> he merely states the question, giving the views of Margry, Shea, and Parkman.<sup>35</sup> But in his *Cartier to Frontenac*, he wrote of the *Description*:

It stands reasonably well a critical test, and the internal evidence is in its favor. It has been alleged by Margry that the correspondence in the text shows a closer relation to an account written by La Salle than is consistent with an independent relation; but this correspondence extends to events of which Hennepin had personal knowledge, and La Salle had not. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that Hennepin may have acted as a scribe for La Salle, and that each used the same records for his own purposes. It is hardly worth while to go to the other extreme adopted by Shea in charging La Salle with pilfering from Hennepin.<sup>36</sup>

From this we can only conclude that Winsor did not examine the *Relation des decouvertes* very closely, and that he did not make the comparison with La Salle's letters suggested a

<sup>34</sup> *Narrative and Critical History of America*, IV, 247-256.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 250.

<sup>36</sup> J. Winsor, *Cartier to Frontenac . . . 1534-1700*, Boston and New York, 1894<sup>2</sup>, 282.

decade earlier by Margry. His two suppositions are gratuitous; they are precisely what needs to be proved in order to establish his contention.

The position adopted by Thwaites is perhaps sufficiently clear from the passages in his two-volume edition of the *New Discovery-New Voyage*, which refer to the *Description*. He mentions Hennepin as "the annalist of the expedition," a title to which, in view of the evidence, he has no claim whatever. Without raising the question of authenticity, Thwaites speaks of the *Description* thus:

His first book . . . is that of a boaster, and nearly every incident therein is obviously over-colored. . . . The successors to the volume are . . . marred by inexcusable and bungling mendacity. . . . Nevertheless, when all is said, we must acknowledge Hennepin's works to be invaluable contributions to the sources of American history; they deserve study, and to this day furnish rare entertainment.<sup>37</sup>

It is interesting to conjecture what Thwaites would have written had he made a comparative study of the texts. His acknowledgment that Hennepin's works are "invaluable contributions to the sources of American history" would undoubtedly have been modified; but it is cheering to note that his statement about the "rare entertainment" furnished by these pages is even truer than he realized at the time it was made.

## 2. JOHN GILMARY SHEA

Thus far the views of Margry and of those who accepted his solution have been considered. The alternative view proposed by Shea must now be examined. His *Discovery of the Mississippi Valley*, published in 1852, contains a strong indictment of Hennepin. The historian gives a brief analysis of the *Description*, which apart from any intrinsic faults, possesses considerable value, as being the first published, and by far the fullest account of La Salle's expedition. . . . Taking the volume by itself, the reader is struck by the unclerical character of the writer, his intense vanity and fondness for exaggeration.<sup>38</sup>

The question of plagiarism is not here touched upon, for the *Relation des découvertes* was not then known to Shea. Im-

<sup>37</sup> R. G. Thwaites, ed., *A New Discovery of a Vast Country in America. By Father Louis Hennepin. Reprinted from the second London issue of 1698, . . .* 2 vols., Chicago, 1903, I, Introduction, xliii.

<sup>38</sup> J. G. Shea, *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*, Redfield, 1852, 100.



pressed by the parallel passages published by Sparks, he was in a quandary with regard to the trustworthiness of that part of the *Description* narrating events subsequent to February 29, 1680:

A question still remains as to what he really did do on leaving Fort Crèvecoeur. . . . The geographical description [of Hennepin's voyage up the Mississippi] is not that of a traveller ascending, as he describes first what he saw last. . . . What did he do between March 12th and April 12th? Then, too, as to his description of the upper Mississippi, I am inclined to think it due to de Luth [Duluth], who as Le Clercq tells us, was the first to reach the lake of the Issatis, and open the way to the missionaries; this seems more probable as in his last work Hennepin attacks de Luth, and endeavors to destroy the credit, as though de Luth could, and perhaps did tell another story. It will, therefore, be a matter of interest to learn whether any reports of his are still to be found, as the mere fact of Hennepin's attacking him gives them considerable value.<sup>39</sup>

The report of Duluth which Shea hoped for was found, and was published for the first time twenty years after the above was written. A decade after Shea published his *Discovery of the Mississippi Valley*, Margry began to spread his dark hints. He supposedly had documents which would revolutionize what had been accepted as the history of the discovery and exploration of the Mississippi Valley. When the first three volumes of the Margry compilation were published, Shea wrote his broadside entitled *The Bursting of Pierre Margry's La Salle Bubble*.<sup>40</sup> The blast would have been harsher still, had Shea known what is known today about the nature of some of the "documents" in the first volume.<sup>41</sup> In those days, access to the documents could not be had, or they could no longer be found, or some other excuse was given. But now that anyone who wishes can consult them and compare their contents with the text which Margry published, the disingenuousness of the editor can no longer be doubted. It is nowadays quite clear that he was unfit for his task, and that his repeated assertions of objectivity, impartiality, love for truth, etc., were mere cant, for his prime intent in publishing some of the "documents"—a notable exception being the letters of La Salle—was to prove a thesis. In spite of all this, however, it must be insisted upon that when a document is genuine, when

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 105-106.

<sup>40</sup> Jean Delanglez, *Some La Salle Journeys*, Chicago, 1938, 4-10.

<sup>41</sup> Jean Delanglez, *Frontenac and the Jesuits*, Chicago, 1939, 176 ff., 215 ff.

its authenticity is beyond question, when only minor errors of transcription are found in comparing it with the manuscript, the document must be accepted, whether published by Margry or by anyone else; for evidence is evidence, no matter how damaging it may be to a theory. Shea seems to have been casting about for arguments which would discredit the bulk of the documents in Margry's compilation. One can readily understand how, misled by the latter's parade of reticence, and reasonably enough annoyed at his failure to make the disclosures which previous boasts and former dark hints had suggested, Shea might well have adopted an excessively recalcitrant attitude. At any rate, the impression one gets is that he was determined to avoid by every possible means, the necessity of being on the same side of the fence with Margry.

To appreciate Shea's position, we must remember that he had already sharply criticized Hennepin for the *New Discovery* and the *New Voyage*, he had even cast doubt on the voyage up the Mississippi as found in the *Description*, going much farther in his strictures than anyone before or since. Under the circumstances, when Margry, Shea's *bête noire*, published a document purporting to show that Hennepin was even blacker than Shea had painted him, and that besides the pilfering done in 1697, he had, as Margry wrote, begun "his plagiarisms with this document," namely with the *Relation des découvertes*, in 1682, it was only to be expected that Shea should attempt to clear Hennepin's name from so calumnious an accusation. To absolve the author of the *New Discovery* from downright false statements and impossible claims, he advanced the interpolation theory, now rejected even by Hennepin's most determined champions, and, when he translated the *Description*, adopted a view diametrically opposed to that then held. According to Shea, it was not Hennepin who plagiarized the *Relation des découvertes*, but it is rather the author of the latter who was guilty of literary piracy.

Shea's arguments are found in the preface to his translation of the *Description de la Louisiane*, and in the notes he appended to the text.<sup>42</sup> He begins the discussion of its authenticity thus:

The charge that the *Description of Louisiana* was copied from the document now given by Margry has been taken up in this country without sufficient examination: but it is really too shallow even for such an utterly uncritical mind as Margry's to be pardoned for putting forth.

<sup>42</sup> J. G. Shea, ed., *A Description of Louisiana by Father Louis Hennepin*, New York, 1880.

This *Relation des découvertes* is anonymous and undated. Margry himself asks whether it was written by La Salle himself or "only by a learned ecclesiastic, by means of letters addressed by the discoverer to some of his friends or associates."<sup>43</sup>

Later, as was shown above, Margry no longer showed such hesitation, but explicitly attributed the document to its rightful author, Claude Bernou. Shea, however, is right in declaring that Margry's charge was accepted in America "without sufficient examination." There was too much subserviency to theories about America advanced by Europeans, whose knowledge of the history and especially of the geography of this country was notably deficient. This overdeveloped sense of provincialism, coupled with an almost superstitious reverence for European scholarship, tended to paralyze independent research and fostered too ready an acceptance of conclusions from across the Atlantic. Shea, however, went too far in depreciating the reliability of distant observers: "Elsewhere [Margry] gives his opinion that it is the work of Abbé Bernou; but as he was never in America, he could only be a compiler, and must have used Hennepin's work. . . ." It is regrettable to find such an obvious "non sequitur" in the writings of so reputable an historian. It does not follow that because Bernou never came to America, he must therefore have copied Hennepin; for he had something in his possession which Hennepin never had nor even saw—La Salle's letters, the ultimate source of ninety-five per cent of the *Relation* and of two-thirds of the *Description*.

If we analyze this Margry document we find it forms three distinct divisions, 1st an account of La Salle's operations down to his and Hennepin's departure from Fort Crèvecoeur; 2d an account of Hennepin's voyage up the Mississippi and through the Wisconsin to Green Bay. 3d an account of La Salle's return to Fort Frontenac, his second visit to Illinois and his operations to 1681.

In fact, the *Relation des découvertes* is divided into two unequal parts: the first, narrating the first ten years of the explorer's life in Canada, covers three printed pages in Margry; the second part, dealing with La Salle's activities in New France, from 1678 to 1681, covers more than one hundred pages, and is all based on the letters he sent to France during this time. Much labor would have been saved had the *Description of Louisiana* proper been examined more closely. This also is divided into two parts. In the first part, as far as page 205, that is, down to the

<sup>43</sup> Shea's Preface to the *Description*, 36.

page where the narrative of the capture of Hennepin and his companions begins, the *Description* follows the *Relation*. The second part recounts the adventures or misadventures of Accault, Auguelle, and Hennepin, especially Hennepin, until their return to Lower Canada in the early months of 1681. One of the principal clues to the plagiarism is the difference between these two parts. Plagiarism in this case does not mean that Hennepin either by himself or with the help of a scribe, copied from some other work the whole of the *Description*, but that the first part, two-thirds of the *Description*, is taken bodily from the *Relation*, with the insertion of a few paragraphs of his own. Once this is understood, most of the arguments marshalled by Shea to prove the plagiarism by Bernou of the *Description* fall to the ground. He wrote:

Now as Hennepin was with La Salle or his party during the first period [until February 29, 1680], he was competent to keep a journal of events, that might be written in some form as La Salle's official report, and in another as the missionary's report to his own superiors.

This is beside the point. The question is not about Hennepin's competence as a chronicler, a point concerning which there are grave doubts, but whether he actually kept a journal of events; and this Shea would have found great difficulty in proving.

As to the second part Margry asks us to accept the preposterous idea that La Salle possessed by some supernatural means the knowledge of all Hennepin saw or did after leaving him at Fort Crèvecoeur, that La Salle committed this knowledge to writing, and that Hennepin, instead of describing what he saw and did as an eyewitness, stole his account from this wonderful document of La Salle. La Salle himself acknowledges the receipt of letters from Hennepin and insists on the reality of his discovery; and to uphold it as against Du Lhut insists that Hennepin exaggerated in making out that he was a prisoner. As La Salle himself admits that his knowledge of this part came from Hennepin, he has already refuted Margry's absurd idea that Hennepin stole this from him.

"Margry's absurd idea" was never expressed by Margry himself. He simply failed to distinguish between what is clearly Hennepin's own and what was stolen from the *Relation*. La Salle acknowledges the receipt of only one letter from Hennepin; and as for obtaining knowledge by "supernatural means" about Hennepin's ascent of the Mississippi and capture by the Sioux and rescue by Duluth, there was not the slightest necessity for this. Shea seems to have overlooked the fact that La Salle wrote his



letter of August 22, 1681, at Fort Frontenac," after he had gone to Montreal; thus his knowledge of events could have come either from Accault, who, despite Shea's assertion to the contrary, did not stay among the Sioux nor at Michilimackinac, or from Auguelle, who was certainly in Lower Canada at that time, or from both. It should be remembered, moreover, that Duluth and some of the men who had accompanied him were also in Lower Canada, and that none of them were sworn to secrecy. The account in the *Relation des découvertes* of Hennepin's northern odyssey is merely a transcription of the above mentioned letter of La Salle, and in copying this out of the *Relation* Hennepin gives no sign of recognizing it as his own; on the contrary, some of the changes which he introduced play havoc with the geography of the Upper Mississippi.

"As to the third part, there is nothing of it in Hennepin, so that Margry's charge depends entirely on the first part; and he utterly fails to explain how Hennepin refrained from any plagiarism of the third part." This is another weak argument. Neither Hennepin nor his backers in Paris, where the *Description* was concocted, were foolish enough to narrate events which Hennepin did not witness. So crude an error would have been fatal, since readers could hardly have failed to ask whence came his knowledge of such details. The chronological and topographical precision of the events recorded while Hennepin was with La Salle, and the marked vagueness regarding these specific data when Hennepin was alone would, to put the matter colloquially, have given the whole show away. It must also be remembered that what Hennepin wanted most was to present himself as a principal actor—quite an impossible task had he spoken of events which took place when he himself was hundreds of miles away.

"The reader will see in the following pages that Margry's document in the first part [that is, until February 29, 1680] agrees pretty closely with Hennepin, omitting comparatively little, while it abridges the second part [of the *Description*] greatly." This too is an invalid argument. The close agreement referred to is explained by the fact that Bernou took the narra-

<sup>44</sup> It has been said: "Harris, *Notes pour servir . . .* p. 333, assigne à cette lettre l'année 1681. L'erreur est manifeste"; it should be 1682, H. Lemay, *Bibliographie du Père Louis Hennepin, récollet. Les Pièces Documentaires*, Montreal, 1937, 27. Internal evidence shows beyond doubt that when La Salle wrote this letter he had not yet gone to the Gulf; and it is known that in August 1682, he was not at Fort Frontenac, but in the Illinois country; cf. "A Calendar of La Salle's Travels," in *MID-AMERICA*, XXII (October 1940), 292, 305.

tive of Hennepin's adventures from La Salle's letter of August 22, 1681. Having passed that point in the narrative where his own departure from Fort Crèvecoeur is mentioned, Hennepin was on his own; and copying verbatim all that he could find about himself in the *Relation* as well as the description of the Mississippi and its tributaries up to Mille Lacs, he began the story of his adventures, of his voyage up the Mississippi.

The whole question is confined therefore to the first part [until February 29, 1680] and as to that there is a simple test. If the narrative describes in detail events that befel the party while La Salle was absent and alludes briefly to what La Salle did, the narrative is Hennepin's; if on the contrary it follows La Salle's actions day by day, and alludes generally to what the party was doing in his absence, it must be La Salle.

Shea then proceeds to show the first alternative to be the true one. Having assumed as a postulate that Hennepin was not guilty of plagiarism, the historian failed to see that the differences in the first part are exactly the same as those in the second. When Hennepin in transcribing Bernou's account saw that his adventure at Niagara and in the Iroquois country had been dismissed with a few words—for Bernou was preoccupied mainly with La Salle and not at all with Hennepin; and had, moreover, no data about these adventures other than what he got from La Salle's letters—he proceeded to expand the narrative of the *Relation des découvertes* by inserting the occasional paragraphs referred to above. These paragraphs are Hennepin's own, just as the entire second part of the *Description* is his own, but this fact does in no way militate against the view that one-third of the *Relation* was taken over bodily to make up two-thirds of the *Description*.

"La Salle apparently took the Recollects to chronicle his doings. Hennepin kept a journal; Membré did also as Le Clercq assures us; Joutel tells us that he seized and destroyed memoirs of Father Maxime Le Clercq." Of these four assertions in Shea's preface, only the one about Joutel is true. La Salle was opposed to the idea of anybody chronicling his doings; Hennepin's journal is a myth, invented to explain his pillaging of Le Clercq's account of the descent of the Mississippi in 1682; and the journal of Membré is nothing else than the "relation officielle" written by Bernou and attributed to Membré by the editor of the *First Establishment of the Faith*.

Shea ends his argumentation thus:

Every view of the question confirms the opinion that the narrative is really Hennepin's; and that the document in Margry was compiled from it by an unknown hand. Only one question remains, that is whether Margry's anonymous compiler plagiarized from a document drawn up by Hennepin in America or from his printed work.

The second alternative is Shea's conclusion. Before taking up this point, he tries to show that La Salle was not the author of the document; his only argument for this is the knowledge found in both narratives of the part of France in which Auguelle was, namely, in Paris. La Salle was then in Canada; he could not therefore have known the whereabouts of Auguelle in France, and consequently did not write the *Relation*. Margry, although hesitating for a while, had by this time, 1880, given Bernou as the author of the *Relation des decouvertes*. Incidentally, it would be interesting to see what proof Shea had that Hennepin wrote a document in America.

The fact that it [the presence of Auguelle in Paris] appears in the Margry Relation seems to show that its compiler used Hennepin's book without giving credit, and used, not a draft or copy made in America, but the edition printed in Paris but had not the honesty to cite Hennepin and refer to him.

This is no proof whatsoever: the *Relation* in Margry bears intrinsic marks of having been finished in the first months of 1682, and the printer did not have Hennepin's book ready until January 5, 1683. Secondly, Bernou, who wrote the *Relation* in Paris, must have known that Auguelle was there. As a matter of fact he got there before Hennepin, for the latter, as will be seen, literally missed the boat.

From this review of Shea's arguments their conclusiveness is more apparent than real; so apparent, in fact, that until a short time ago, the present writer accepted them as final.<sup>45</sup> But a more detailed knowledge of what took place in Paris in 1682, after Hennepin's return, a line by line comparison of the two narratives, a comparison between the statements contained in both with the letters of La Salle, and finally a comparison between the style and the use of words in the two parts of both the *Description* and the *Relation*, compelled him to revise his former judgment.

Shea's theory was adopted by several writers who later had occasion to speak of the authenticity of the *Description of Lou-*

<sup>45</sup> Jean Delanglez, *The Journal of Jean Cavelier*, Chicago, 1938, 138, note 25.

isiana, but, like those who hold with Margry, they merely repeated the arguments of the leader and omitted an independent investigation of the problem. Such, for instance, are Fathers Goyens and Lemay, and Abbé H. A. Scott. The first of these after jotting down a few notes, proceeded to publish a hodge-podge of views no less astonishing than amusing on the history of the exploration of the Great Lakes region and of the Mississippi Valley. American historians of this period would be both entertained and encouraged by a perusal of Father Goyens' definitive statements.<sup>46</sup> One of the many questions "settled" is Hennepin's voyage down to the mouth of the Mississippi in 1680. Father Goyens demanded that "once for all, the data furnished by Hennepin be compared with the official surveys up and down the Mississippi."<sup>47</sup> This imperious request has been granted and the comparison demanded has been made.<sup>48</sup>

Hennepin's good name was at last strikingly and apodictically vindicated, thanks to the conscientious and erudite study of Mr. J. Gilmary Shea, published in 1880. In the masterly preface, etc. . . . The plagiarism imputed to Father Hennepin should be clearly proved, texts in hands. We have been waiting for a long time, and are still waiting. . . .<sup>49</sup>

Again, referring to Margry: "He finally decides that 'this document [the *Relation des découvertes*] must have been composed on La Salle's letters.' This categorical assertion is perhaps sincere, but it does not satisfy those readers who prefer convincing arguments to it."<sup>50</sup> There is reason to wonder whether the author of this article read the *Relation* and the letters of La Salle and compared them with the *Description*. The article, however, is rather an apology for Hennepin on general grounds than a specific discussion of the *Description*, and its main purpose was to prove the reality of the voyage down the Mississippi in 1680. It drew a caustic rejoinder from the late H. A. Scott,<sup>51</sup> who commented thus on the authenticity of the *Description*:

<sup>46</sup> J. Goyens, "Le Père Louis Hennepin, O.F.M., Missionnaire au Canada au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Quelques jalons pour sa biographie," in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, XVIII, 1925, 318-345, 473-510.

<sup>47</sup> Goyens, *loc. cit.*, 473.

<sup>48</sup> Jean Delanglez, "Hennepin's Voyage to the Gulf of Mexico 1680," in *MID-AMERICA*, XXI (January 1939), 43-74.

<sup>49</sup> Goyens, *loc. cit.*, 497.

<sup>50</sup> Goyens, *loc. cit.*, 496.

<sup>51</sup> "Un coup d'épée dans l'eau, ou une nouvelle apologie du P. Louis Hennepin," in *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, series 3, XXI, 1937, section 1, 113-160; reprinted in H. A. Scott, *Nos Anciens Historiographes et autres études d'Histoire Canadienne*, Lévis, 1930, under the title: "Que faut-il penser du P. Hennepin et de son nouvel apologiste?" 77-147.



In spite of all, if Father Hennepin had only written the *Description of Louisiana*, his name would have been blameless and he would have remained one of the great explorers of the seventeenth century. The accusation levelled against him that his book is a plagiarism of a so-called La Salle relation has long since been known to be false. Why should he need other people's eyes to describe places and events which he saw with his own eyes?<sup>52</sup>

The last sentence, as is clear, merely repeats in different words what Shea had said. The first sentence is an echo of what Thwaites wrote in the preface to his edition of *Hennepin's New Discovery*.<sup>53</sup> As to his fame as "one of the great explorers," it is based on his having travelled with the Sioux from the Wisconsin to the Mille Lacs region. He was not the only white man with the Indians; he was not the leader of the exploring party, for La Salle had entrusted the expedition to Accault.

The most recent writer to concern himself with Hennepin was Father Lemay. As was noted elsewhere,<sup>54</sup> his premature death cut short the series of studies which he was publishing before attempting to deal explicitly with the most important question regarding the missionary. These articles as well as a volume of contemporary documents written by or about Hennepin<sup>55</sup> were so many avenues leading to the central question: "Did Hennepin go down the Mississippi to the Gulf in 1680?"<sup>56</sup> As a prelude to the treatment of this question, Father Lemay was engaged in composing a critical bibliography, arranged according to countries, of all the works concerning Hennepin by various writers in France, Belgium, Holland, England, Italy, Spain, the United States, and Canada. Death cut short this work before the end of the second article, which, as the editors note, was only partially written by Father Lemay, and it is they who have "inserted all the information found among the author's notes."<sup>57</sup> It is all the more regrettable that Father Lemay could not have finished this article, for in it the opinions of American writers are passed in review. "Let us say at the outset that the worth while works on Father Hennepin, the critical works, are the American studies,"<sup>58</sup> that is, by writers in the United States.

<sup>52</sup> *Nos Anciens Historiographes*, 117.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Thwaites, *Hennepin's New Discovery*, Introduction, xxxiii.

<sup>54</sup> "Hennepin's Voyage to the Gulf of Mexico 1680," *loc. cit.*, 81, note.

<sup>55</sup> *Bibliographie du P. Louis Hennepin*, . . . , Montreal, 1937.

<sup>56</sup> "Le Père Louis Hennepin, récollet, devant l'histoire," in *Nos Cahiers*, III, 1938, 245.

<sup>57</sup> *Nos Cahiers*, III, 1938, 374.

<sup>58</sup> *Loc. cit.*, 357.

He did, however, complete his survey of French writers' views on Hennepin.<sup>59</sup> This survey, though based on Goyens, is much more balanced than the latter's. With regard to the authenticity of the *Description*, Lemay, in his comments on Margry, repeats briefly what Shea had said:

Bernou plagiarized Hennepin, that is, very likely the manuscript of the *Description of Louisiana*, which the Recollect had submitted either to Bernou or to Renaudot. Let us note, however, that Bernou's *Relation* plagiarized Hennepin's only in the first part and a part of the third.<sup>60</sup>

There is no mention of Margry's main argument—the letters of La Salle which are the basis of the *Relation*. Clearly Father Lemay was only superficially acquainted with the *Relation* which he termed a plagiarism of the *Description*, and moreover, as the following parallel passages will show, he relied on Goyens' analysis of the contents of the *Relation des découvertes*, which was supposedly taken from Shea.

En vue d'un examen critique à établir, Mr. G. Shea distingue 3 parties hétérogènes dans la relation (anonyme) soi-disant officielle publiée par Mr. Margry, I, 435-544. La 1<sup>re</sup> partie comprend le voyage de La Salle avec Hennepin jusqu'au Fort Crève-Coeur (475-7) [i.e., 435-477]; la 2<sup>e</sup>, le voyage d'Hennepin avec deux canotiers vers l'embouchure du Mississippi (477-83); la 3<sup>e</sup>, le retour de La Salle au Fort Frontenac, sa seconde visite aux Illinois et ses exploits jusqu'en 1684 (483-544). . . .

La 3<sup>e</sup> partie est évidemment étrangère à la plume d'Hennepin.<sup>61</sup>

La *Relation* Bernou comprend en effet trois parties hétérogènes. La première décrit le voyage de La Salle avec Hennepin jusqu'au fort Crèvecoeur; la seconde, le voyage du bas-Mississippi; la troisième, le retour de La Salle au fort Frontenac et son activité jusqu'en 1684. La *Description de la Louisiane*, elle, passe sous silence la descente du Mississippi, et, publiée au début de 1683, elle ne dit évidemment rien des aventures subséquentes de La Salle.<sup>62</sup>

Let the reader turn to the passage in Shea's preface describing the *Relation des découvertes*, quoted a few pages back in the present essay, and see whether the historian speaks of this

<sup>59</sup> *Loc. cit.*, 246-276.

<sup>60</sup> *Loc. cit.*, 248.

<sup>61</sup> Goyens, *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, XVIII, 1925, 480.

<sup>62</sup> Lemay, *Nos Cahiers*, III, 1938, 268.

narrative as giving "Hennepin's voyage . . . toward the mouth of the Mississippi," as Goyens has it, or "the voyage to the lower Mississippi" as Lemay put it. On the contrary, Shea specifically states that what he considered the second part of the *Relation* contains "an account of Hennepin's voyage up the Mississippi," which of course makes quite a difference in the present case. As for the third part, which, we are told, treats of La Salle's exploits (Goyens), or activities (Lemay) until 1684, what Shea actually says is "until 1681." The very title of the *Relation* gives 1681 as the latest date. This is not a misprint on the part of Lemay, for he adds that the *Description* "published at the beginning of 1683, says nothing of the subsequent adventures of La Salle." These errors, slight in themselves, become important as indications that neither Lemay nor Goyens made an independent investigation of the problem. Goyens misquoted Shea, and Lemay repeated the error of Goyens, without even verifying the passage quoted, to say nothing of attempting a textual comparison between the *Description* and the *Relation*.

### 3. MARC DE VILLIERS

There is another hypothesis, differing from those of both Margry and Shea, which must be examined here, not only because it is closer to facts than either of the above, but because the present writer was formerly so impressed by its compatibility with the evidence as to conjecture it would one day be proved true.<sup>63</sup> This is the theory advanced by De Villiers in 1929.<sup>64</sup> Margry and many another after him, wrote De Villiers, have pointed out Hennepin's plagiarism of the *Relation des decouvertes*, and have on that account abused him:

This time, however, we shall take up the defense of the very uninteresting Recollect and show that far from having secretly pilfered the *Relation*, he evidently confined himself to introduce in a work, the idea of which was perhaps suggested to him, some two hundred pages recast for his use by a man who was both an able writer and a devoted friend of the explorer.<sup>65</sup>

To be sure, the two hundred pages were "recast," but a more detailed comparison than that made by De Villiers between the *Description* and the original *Relation* shows the writer of the

<sup>63</sup> "Hennepin's Voyage to the Gulf of Mexico 1680," *loc. cit.*, 45-46.

<sup>64</sup> M. de Villiers du Terrage, *La Louisiane, Histoire de son nom et des ses frontières successives (1681-1819)*, Paris, 1929.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

first to have been less able than the author of the second. The idea of writing a book was indeed suggested to Hennepin, but hardly by Renaudot or Villermont, and certainly not by Bernou. If anything was to be published, the manuscript was first to be submitted to La Salle;<sup>66</sup> and it is stretching probability too far to assert that they "wanted to make use of the Recollect to issue a relation about Louisiana composed according to their own ideas."<sup>67</sup> The reason is evident: Why should they have wished to publish a relation containing less than one-half of what they then knew of La Salle's explorations in North America? This would defeat their purpose, which, as Bernou states in the memoir accompanying the *Relation des découvertes*, was to show that La Salle was "the only man in Canada able to lead the undertaking entrusted to him by Monseigneur Colbert."<sup>68</sup>

But, reasoned De Villiers, after these unacceptable premises, "as soon as Father Hennepin got hold of the map and of the documents he needed, he hastened, without the slightest scruple, to separate himself from his collaborators, whom he considered too authoritarian, and he finished the narrative of his voyage after his own fashion."<sup>69</sup> This supposed what should be proved, namely, that Bernou, Renaudot, and Villermont were Hennepin's collaborators. One thing is certain: Hennepin somehow secured or, more likely, was given a copy of the *Relation des découvertes*. It is hardly possible that he was able to secure the map then already drawn or in the process of being drawn in Paris, which was presented to Seignelay sometime in 1682, and which includes geographical details that are only found in La Salle's letters. The delineation of the Great Lakes as they appear on the Paris map and on Hennepin's is so widely different that N. Guérard, the draughtsman of Hennepin's map, cannot have had a copy of the Paris map before him when he drew the map accompanying the *Description of Louisiana*.

<sup>66</sup> "With regard to his [La Salle] latest discoveries, I advise you to give him the relation which I wrote, so that he may correct it, add to it or shorten it. . . ." Bernou to Renaudot, January 25, 1684, BN Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:87. "As for my relation corrected, augmented or re-written, it will be all he can do if he can leave it with you before he leaves. . . ." *Id.* to *id.*, February 22, 1684, *ibid.*, 98v. "Do not fail to have him fully annotate the relations dont j'ay été le scribe in case he has no time to re-write it all. . . . I see in re-reading your letter that you intend to re-write the relation with the corrections and additions of M. de la Salle. I was very glad when I read this, and shall be gladder still when I receive the copy you promise to send me." *Id.* to *id.*, March 14, 1684, *ibid.*, 104.

<sup>67</sup> De Villiers, *La Louisiane*, 14.

<sup>68</sup> Margry, II, 287.

<sup>69</sup> *La Louisiane*, 14.

De Villiers argues further that even if Hennepin had already begun his narrative, La Salle's friends realized

They must at all cost prevent the Recollect from narrating after his own fashion the events which took place while he was with La Salle, and it is undoubtedly in the interest of the discoverer that Bernou substituted his prose for that of Father Hennepin, and allowed him, although very unwillingly, to follow his imagination from March 1, 1680 on. . . .<sup>70</sup>

This is not consonant with what he has said above. If Hennepin, once in possession of map and documents, proceeded to separate himself from his collaborators, what need was there for Bernou to substitute his prose for that of Hennepin, and let him "follow his imagination from March 1, 1680 on?" There is only one explanation: Hennepin had a copy of the *Relation des découvertes*, and the substitution, effected by Hennepin himself, consists in his taking the place of La Salle as leader.

"The last hundred pages of the *Description of Louisiana* fully enable us to see in what a fanciful and personal manner Father Hennepin, left to his own devices, would have narrated the events of the first year of his voyage in America."<sup>71</sup> This is discussed later on in the same chapter where De Villiers—the first to call attention to this feature of the *Description*—compares the style of the last third with the style of the first two-thirds. He also lists some of the modifications or corrections made in the text of the *Relation* to make the story agree with the *Description*; that these corrections "Hennepin would have been unable to make" may be readily granted, but the assertion "Bernou was too attached to his work to let anybody touch it" is contradicted by Bernou himself.<sup>72</sup> The abbé really wanted La Salle to re-write his *Relation*, and only suggested the expedient mentioned in the letter quoted by De Villiers, because Renaudot had written that La Salle would not have time to do this. Only by omitting the first words of the passage quoted from Bernou's letter in Margry, and by changing the future tense into a conditional, does De Villiers make the quotation say that Bernou was too attached to his work to let *anybody* touch it.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

<sup>72</sup> See the texts *supra*, note 66.

<sup>73</sup> "Vous me dites qu'il [La Salle] n'aura pas le temps. Ne faudra-t-il pas qu'il se repose deux ou trois jours à Montrouge? Et, pour abrégé, il ne faudra pas qu'il fasse une relation, mais seulement des notes de correction et augmentation. . . ." Bernou to Renaudot, March 28, 1684, Margry, III, 79.



Undoubtedly, someone did recast the text of Bernou's *Relation* to make it fit in with the *Description*. Who the re-write man was will probably never be known for certain, but he was evidently a man of less ability than Bernou, and in revising the text under Hennepin's direction, he conspicuously failed to blend the two distinct parts into one homogeneous whole. Bernou, says De Villiers, never acknowledged having collaborated in the *Description of Louisiana*.<sup>74</sup> This is only natural, since his "collaboration" consisted in having unwittingly supplied two-thirds of the material for Hennepin's book.

A more serious difficulty than the one just noted against Hennepin's plagiarism of the *Relation des decouvertes*, arises from Bernou's correspondence with Renaudot. Not once in his extant letters does Bernou allude to the pillaging of his *Relation* by Hennepin, although on several occasions he mentions the missionary explicitly. The present writer long regarded this point to be conclusive.<sup>75</sup> But since there can be no doubt that the *Relation* was written by Bernou from the letters of La Salle, and that two-thirds of the *Description of Louisiana* are lifted bodily from the *Relation*, the passages in which Bernou speaks of Hennepin must be interpreted in the light of these two facts.

Bernou went to Rome as counsel of the special envoy of the Portuguese government, then in trouble with Spain over Colonia do Sacramento in South America. He left Paris for Rome sometime in April 1683, just as the *Description* was being sold. On May 18, he wrote from Rome to Renaudot:

I am saying nothing to M. de la Salle [in a letter written to the explorer the same day which he asked Renaudot to forward] about the book of Father Hennepin, because it made me too angry while reading it on my way here. It would be well, however, that M. de la Salle be given a copy and that he should annotate it; these annotations could be used in a preface [to a book planned by the explorer's friends which would contain *La Salle's Description of Louisiana*] as a treat for the good Father.<sup>76</sup>

The following year when Bernou heard that La Salle was in France, he wrote:

Give him my relation [scilicet the *Relation des decouvertes*] which I

"Il ne faudrait pas qu'il fasse une Relation, mais seulement des notes de correction et augmentation, . . ." De Villiers' citation of the above passage, *La Louisiane*, 16.

<sup>74</sup> *La Louisiane*, 18.

<sup>75</sup> *The Journal of Jean Caveller*, 138, note 25.

<sup>76</sup> Bernou to Renaudot, May 18, 1683, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:10.

left with you. He may use it as an outline; let him correct it or lengthen it, if this should be easier for him, although I would prefer him to re-write it, not being very satisfied with it myself, especially with regard to the beginning, for which I lacked dates and memoirs.<sup>77</sup> Remind him to give Dom Hempin a good drubbing; it will be his revenge and mine.<sup>78</sup>

The lack of dates and memoirs is a reference to the lopsidedness of the *Relation des découvertes*; the first eleven years of La Salle in Canada cover only three pages in the printed text of the *Relation*, whereas the last three years, for which Bernou had dates and memoirs, namely, the letters of La Salle, take up more than one hundred pages. Bernou's anger and desire for revenge on Hennepin are difficult to account for, on any basis but a realization that his own work had been pillaged. And La Salle could hardly have shared these sentiments, except by coming to know that Hennepin assumed throughout the rôle of leader which rightfully belonged to La Salle himself. Regrettably, the preface of *La Salle's Description of Louisiana* was never written; it would have thrown interesting light on the whole plagiarism affair, to say nothing of other matters.

The above texts taken from signed autograph letters by the author of the *Relation des découvertes* suggest a further conclusion which, as will be seen in detail later on, is confirmed by the following considerations. It is impossible to believe that Bernou did not know how Hennepin came to be in possession of the manuscript of which there were only a few copies.<sup>79</sup> The leakage could only have come through the influential sponsors of Hennepin's book, the very same men who were striving to prevent the recall of Frontenac. In this they had failed, and they seem to have sought consolation in making public in the *Description* the praises of the governor's administration. The Jansenistically inclined members of the coterie would naturally be glad to have a book on the missions of Canada, the first one since the Jesuits, ten years previously, had stopped publishing their famous *Relations de la Nouvelle-France*; Renaudot, for instance, would not at all be averse to the publication of a book which would speak of the Canadian missions without saying a word about the Jesuits there. From the book itself, one might suppose the Jesuit

<sup>77</sup> Cf. "Le P. Hennepin, récollet, devant l'histoire," in *Nos Cahiers*, III, 1938, 268-269, the curious interpretation given to this particular passage.

<sup>78</sup> Bernou to Renaudot, February 1, 1684, BN, Mss. fr. n.a., 7497:89.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. *Id. to id.*, January 25, 1684, *ibid.*, 87; *id. to id.*, February 22, 1684, *ibid.*, 98v, etc.

missions no longer existed. The author speaks of the three great mission stations of the West, Green Bay, Michilimackinac, and Sault Ste Marie; he passed through Green Bay, and spent the winter at Michilimackinac, but he does not so much as hint that there were missionaries there. Instead, laboring always under the "first" complex, he has Recollect missions scattered all over the map which graces the *Description*, with what accuracy one may gather from the following:

Another noticeable point of the map is the representation of a mission station far north of the source of the Mississippi, where it is certain that none had been established, or at least there is no record of such. The placing of it there seems to have been a pretension on the part of the Recollect Hennepin that his order had outstripped the venturesome Jesuits. . . .<sup>80</sup>

All these circumstances combine to explain why Bernou did not speak of the plagiarism of "Dom Hempin" in his letters to Renaudot. Moreover, it is unlikely that he failed to discuss the matter with his friend before leaving for Rome. Renaudot, who also knew the circumstances of the composition of the *Description*, kept his friend informed how the book was being received; he told the abbé in Rome that it was a success and was helping the affairs of La Salle, which was after all the primary end they had in view in publishing some account of the explorer's adventures. "What you tell me of the good effect of the bad book of Father Hennepin . . . gladdens me."<sup>81</sup> Bernou had by this time changed his mind with regard to publishing anything himself about La Salle's affairs; to tell the truth, "I have always thought that his [La Salle's] relation should not be printed."<sup>82</sup> This is a further indication that he did not "collaborate" in the *Description*.

In the study of De Villiers which we have already discussed at length, the author calls attention to Hennepin's position when he arrived in Paris. The *privilege* (copyright) of the *Description*, he notes, is dated September 3, 1682; "seven or eight months, at the most, elapsed since Hennepin's arrival in Paris and the handing of the manuscript to the Royal Censor." De Villiers still gives too much time for the composition of the *Description*.

The missionary probably brought back a few notes from Canada . . . , nevertheless without collaborators, without protectors, in bad

<sup>80</sup> J. Winsor, *Cartier to Frontenac*, 278-279.

<sup>81</sup> Bernou to Renaudot, February 29, 1684, Margry, III, 74.

<sup>82</sup> *Id. to id.*, May 26, 1684, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:108v.



terms with the Jesuits, and even with some of the Provincials of his Order, in spite of the *imprimatur* of Fathers Harveau and Micault, Hennepin would never have been able to secure (one does not see how) the manuscript of Bernou, recast it skilfully, find an editor, and finally obtain so quickly the *privilège* for a work dealing with New France, a subject particularly thorny at this time of many-sided rivalries.<sup>83</sup>

De Villiers did not know the correspondence of M. Dudouyt with Bishop Laval. These letters show that Hennepin had collaborators, influential protectors, that he was not then on bad terms with either his own Provincial or with the Provincial of Paris. The textual analysis of the *Description of Louisiana* shows that he was able to secure the Bernou manuscript, that the recasting was not made by Hennepin alone. Thanks to his protectors, it was not difficult to find an editor or to obtain the necessary royal *privilège*. This element of time is important in determining the date of composition of the *Description*, a fact which those who claim that Bernou plagiarized Hennepin seem to have overlooked. Internal evidence of both works permit us to narrow down to within a few months the time when the two accounts were composed. As a preliminary, we will follow Hennepin from the time he left Fort Crèvecoeur, February 29, 1680, until we lose sight of him in July 1682. This chronology will serve several purposes. For the American period, it will serve as a basis for comparison between the chronology in the last third of the *Description* and the first two-thirds; for the French period, it will make clear that the time which elapsed between the arrival of Hennepin in Paris and the final draft of the *Description* is even shorter than De Villiers thought; indirectly it will prove the *Description* posterior to the *Relation* and dependent upon it.

#### 4. HENNEPIN IN AMERICA 1680-1681

Accault, Auguelle, and Hennepin left Fort Crèvecoeur the last day of February 1680.<sup>84</sup> They descended the Illinois to its mouth, arriving at the confluence with the Mississippi March 7, 1680<sup>85</sup> There, owing to drifting ice, they waited until March 12, and

<sup>83</sup> *La Louisiane*, 15.

<sup>84</sup> "Ils partirent le dernier jour de Février. . . ." La Salle's autograph letter signed, *post* September 29, 1680, Margry, II, 55; in another autograph letter signed, dated August 22, 1681, La Salle wrote: "Ils partirent du fort Crèvecoeur le 28 février au soir. . . ." Margry, II, 246.

<sup>85</sup> La Salle's letter of August 22, 1681, Margry, II, 247.

then went north.<sup>86</sup> On April 11, they were taken prisoner by a band of Sioux;<sup>87</sup> captives and captors reached St. Anthony Falls early in May, and arrived in the Mille Lacs region "about Easter time of the year 1680," as Hennepin wrote in the *Description*.<sup>88</sup> From this time on, his local and chronological sequences are untrustworthy, inaccurate, and hopelessly muddled. He met Duluth, he says, on July 25,<sup>89</sup> at some point between the Wisconsin and the Chippewa. Duluth, according to his own memoir, coming from Lake Superior, ascended a river (the Brulé) which has its mouth eight leagues from the westernmost tip of the lake. At the headwaters of this river, he portaged to a lake (Upper Lake St. Croix) which discharged itself into a river (the St. Croix) and so brought him to the Mississippi. There to his surprise, he heard that Hennepin and two Frenchmen were prisoners of the Sioux. Accordingly with his interpreter and two Frenchmen, he went "where the Reverend Father Louis was, and as the distance was at least eighty leagues, I canoed two days and two nights, and the next day, at ten o'clock in the morning, I met him [Hennepin] with about one thousand or eleven hundred souls."<sup>90</sup> Duluth had left some undetermined place on the shore of Lake Superior "in June"; hence, if we regard the date given by Hennepin for the meeting as approximately correct, we must conclude that his trips up and down the Mississippi are not as numerous as he claims.<sup>91</sup> The whole party went up to the Issati villages, where, says Hennepin, they arrived August 14, 1680.<sup>92</sup>

Then, we are told, they stayed at the village until the end of

<sup>86</sup> *Relation des découvertes*, Margry, I, 479.

<sup>87</sup> La Salle's letter of August 22, 1681, Margry, II, 255.

<sup>88</sup> *Description de la Louisiane*, Paris, 1683, 242.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 285.

<sup>90</sup> Memoir of Duluth, who signed his name Dulhut, in HARRISSE, *Notes pour servir . . .*, 179. HARRISSE erroneously dates it 1685 instead of 1682. Cf. *ibid.*, 179, "le Reuerend pere Louis Henpin Recollet de present au couuent de St. Germain"; Hennepin never returned to Paris after 1682; in 1685, he was at Renty, according to the *Nova Discovery*; and that year Duluth was in the Northwest, cf. SEIGNELAY to de Meules, March 20, 1685, Archives des Colonies, B 11:116v. The memoir is reprinted in Margry, VI, 20-25; it was Englished by Shea in his translation of the *Description*, 374-377, reprinted by L. P. Kellogg, in *Early Narratives of the Northwest, 1634-1699*, New York, 1917, 329-334.

<sup>91</sup> The distances given by Hennepin after March 7 are not very helpful. The value of his league varies. Thus from the Illinois River to the Wisconsin it is three and a half miles to the league; from the Wisconsin to the Falls of St. Anthony, two miles; from the Falls to Mille Lacs, one and a half miles. The *Description* gives a total of 184 leagues from the mouth of the Wisconsin to Mille Lacs; accordingly, Duluth would have met him some seventy miles below the Wisconsin, and even farther south, because Hennepin's elastic league south of Prairie du Chien is worth three and a half miles.

<sup>92</sup> *Description de la Louisiane*, 286.

September. This date cannot be correct if the preceding one is; for Duluth in his memoir of 1682, makes it clear that he did not tarry six weeks in the village. He tells us that a week after his arrival in the Sioux village, a council was held, in which he reproached the chiefs for their bad treatment of the missionary and the two Frenchmen. They tried to appease Duluth; but this did not "prevent me from saying to the Reverend Father Louis that he must come with me toward the Outagamys [Fox Indians] which he did." This whole episode upset Duluth's plans for he had heard of a sea in the west-north-west, and was anxious to continue his explorations in that direction, especially because he thought that this sea was the Gulf of California.

Nevertheless, having made known to the Indians my just indignation against them, I preferred to retrace my steps rather than remain among them after the violence they had done to the said Reverend Father, and to the two Frenchmen who were with him. Taking all three [lesquels] in my canoe, I brought them to Michilimackinac, where is the mission of the Jesuit Fathers.<sup>93</sup>

Hennepin tells us an Indian chief gave him a map which showed them the route to this mission.<sup>94</sup> In fact, this map would hardly have been necessary, for Duluth himself knew the way down the Mississippi River to the Wisconsin, the route up the Wisconsin and down the Fox River to Green Bay, which had been explored ten years before and was known to traders and *coureurs de bois*, to Duluth, to Fafard, and also to many people in Lower Canada, thanks to the Jolliet and Randin maps.

According to Hennepin's assertion in the *Description*, the party arrived at Michilimackinac before the month of December 1680.<sup>95</sup> The story of his stop at Green Bay, and of his preaching at Michilimackinac is peculiar. At Green Bay, he says, he was able to say Mass because Frenchmen who were there "had some wine in a pewter flagon."<sup>96</sup> This suggests that there were no missionaries at Green Bay. But in that very year, at the Jesuit mission of St. Francis Xavier, which had been established there long before Hennepin ever came to America, two Jesuit missionaries were stationed: Fathers André and Albanel. The same is true of Michilimackinac, where Hennepin spent the winter of 1680-1681. There were, in 1680, three Jesuit missionaries

<sup>93</sup> Harisse, *Notes pour servir . . .*, 180.

<sup>94</sup> *Description de la Louisiane*, 289.

<sup>95</sup> "Pour employer utilement le temps je preschay toutes les Fêtes & Dimanches de l'Avent & Careme. . . ." *Description de la Louisiane*, 294.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 292.

at the post, Fathers Nouvel, Pierson, and Enjalran.<sup>97</sup> Consequently, it is unlikely that Hennepin's services as a preacher were the crying need of the moment.

From now on some of the chronology of the *Description* can be checked, and Hennepin's dates are usually found to be incorrect. He wrote that he left Michilimackinac during Easter week of the year 1681. It was still very cold, the lake was frozen, and the party had to "drag the provisions and canoes over the ice of Lac d'Orleans [Lake Huron] for more than ten leagues . . . until finding the ice sufficiently broken . . . we launched our canoes on the open water, after having celebrated the feast of Quasimodo Sunday."<sup>98</sup> In 1681, Easter fell on April 6, hence Quasimodo, the first Sunday after Easter, was April 13. This first specific date of the *Description* since August 14 of the previous year is contradicted by Duluth, who states that he left Michilimackinac while the lake was still frozen, "as early as March 29, of the year 1681, with the said Reverend Father [Hennepin] and the other two Frenchmen [i.e., Accault and Auguelle] dragging [on the ice] my canoe and our provisions . . ."<sup>99</sup>

Quasimodo Sunday is the last specific date in the entire *Description*. Hennepin's mention of the route followed by the party, though it cannot be directly checked because his is the only record of it, is surely incorrect. From Michilimackinac to Montreal there were three routes: one, the most frequented route, went by way of Georgian Bay, Lake Nipissing, and the Ottawa River; the second, by way of Lake Simcoe, across a portage to Teiofagon and then along the north shore of Lake Ontario to Fort Frontenac and Montreal, which was La Salle's favorite route; the third, down Lake Huron, through Lake St. Clair, Lake Erie, Niagara, and Lake Ontario. At that time, this third route was used least of all; yet Hennepin asserts that they took it,<sup>100</sup> thus asking us to believe that they made a detour of more than 500 miles. This is all the more incredible because Duluth was anxious to reach Lower Canada as soon as possible so as to clear himself of the accusation of insubordination and disobedience to the explicit orders of the kind. In his memoir he is emphatic on this point: "I reached our settlements three months before the amnesty which your Majesty kindly granted his subjects . . .

<sup>97</sup> Jesuit Catalogues for that year.

<sup>98</sup> *Description de la Louisiane*, 296.

<sup>99</sup> HARRISSE, *Notes pour servir . . .*, 180.

<sup>100</sup> *Description de la Louisiane*, 296-297.



arrived," in Canada.<sup>101</sup> It is known that the decree of amnesty reached Quebec before August 11, 1681;<sup>102</sup> hence Duluth was in "our settlements," that is, at least as far as Montreal, at the beginning of May. It took a month, sometimes less, sometimes a little more, to go from Michilimackinac to Montreal via the Ottawa, hence if Duluth left the western post March 29, he would have reached Montreal by the beginning of May. There is nothing in the evidence to suggest that Duluth went one way and Hennepin another, for the pioneer speaks of one canoe, and usually, for mutual safety, as many as possible traveled together.

Duluth's silence regarding the route followed might be considered as a sign that Hennepin is correct in what he says. But if, on the sole authority of Hennepin, it is maintained that they took the roundabout way through the Great Lakes, other difficulties present themselves. Hennepin speaks of a visit at "the large Seneca village," situated, he tells us, thirty leagues from Niagara, and eighty leagues from Fort Frontenac. He reached this village "about Pentecost of the year 1681,"<sup>103</sup> that is, about May 25, 1681. The date of his arrival at Fort Frontenac—another visit which rests on his sole authority—is not given. To travel eighty leagues by canoe along the shore of Lake Ontario would have taken at least one week, which means that he would have been at the fort during the first part of June. La Salle himself arrived at the fort a few weeks later, but says not a word in his letter of August 22, 1681, about the visit of "the barefooted one who is [must be] a spirit to have traveled so far."<sup>104</sup> In the same letter, La Salle speaks of Duluth at some length, but does not refer to his having visited the fort at this time, in spite of Duluth's being in Hennepin's company. This argument from silence is, of course, not conclusive, especially when we remember that La Salle was not interested in Hennepin. He was much interested, however, in Accault, the leader of the expedition he had sent to Sioux, and hence it is rather surprising that he did not mention the visit of the party to the fort.

No date is given of Hennepin's arrival at Montreal. We are told merely that he covered the distance from Fort Frontenac to

<sup>101</sup> HARRISSE, *Notes pour servir* . . . , 181.

<sup>102</sup> The day when the decree was entered into the registers of the Sovereign Council, *Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle France, 1663-1710*, 6 vols., Quebec, 1885-1891, II, 624.

<sup>103</sup> *Description de la Louisiane*, 297. In one of his letters La Salle gives 70 leagues as the total distance along the shore from Niagara to Fort Frontenac, Margry, II, 64; in his first memoir, Margry, I, 578, Tonti gives 60 leagues, the length of the diagonal between these two points.

<sup>104</sup> *Description de la Louisiane*, 300.

the town, sixty leagues, in two and a half days. In Montreal, however, there was a personage whose movements are known—Frontenac himself, who wined and dined Hennepin "for twelve days."<sup>105</sup> This is simply mentioned in the *Description*; but in the *New Discovery*, it is fully dramatized, and there are numerous details, such as the meeting with Bishop Laval, near Champlain.<sup>106</sup> The movements of His Excellency, during this period, have been ascertained; it is certain, for instance, that he was at Champlain on June 3, 1681.<sup>107</sup>

Hennepin asserts that "about Pentecost" (May 25) he was at the great Seneca village on the south shore of Lake Ontario, and that when he arrived in Montreal, Frontenac was there. Frontenac went to Montreal twice in 1681. He left Quebec May 5,<sup>108</sup> for the upper St. Lawrence, a journey which in ordinary circumstances took about one week;<sup>109</sup> hence he would have reached Montreal in the middle of May; and there is positive evidence that he was at Repentigny,<sup>110</sup> enroute for Chambly, on June 7, and back in Quebec on June 30.<sup>111</sup> On his second trip, he left Quebec July 9,<sup>112</sup> was at Montreal on July 30,<sup>113</sup> and was back in Quebec on August 11.<sup>114</sup> Hence Hennepin must have met the governor on the latter's first journey up the St. Lawrence.

Keeping these facts in mind, the argument is as follows: If about May 25—the date given in the *Description*—Hennepin was eighty leagues from Fort Frontenac, he cannot have been at Champlain below Three Rivers, 110 miles north of Montreal, on June 3, having meanwhile been feasted for twelve days at Montreal by Frontenac. And this does not include the time he is supposed to have spent at Fort Frontenac—assuming, of course, that he was actually there. Hennepin's apologists cannot have it both ways: either he "fixed" the dates in the *Description* or else in the *New Discovery*; considering his tendencies, the likelihood is that he arranged the chronology in both.

From all this it seems very probable that Hennepin kept no "journal" and hardly took any notes during his travels; at any

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, 302.

<sup>106</sup> *Nouvelle decouverte . . .*, Utrecht, 1697, 475.

<sup>107</sup> A. Gosselin, *Vie de M<sup>re</sup> de Laval*, 2 vols., Quebec, 1890, II, 252.

<sup>108</sup> *Jugements et délibérations*, II, 576.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. Tonti's first memoir, Margry, I, 574; P. Kalm, *Peter Kalm's Travels in North America*, A. B. Benson, ed., 2 vols., New York, 1937, II, 514.

<sup>110</sup> *Jugements et délibérations*, II, 599.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 581.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 595.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, 615.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, 622.



rate, he cannot have had such a journal in his possession nor anything but the sketchiest notes of his own when the *Description* was being put together in Paris, in the middle of 1682. Another remark more pertinent than the above to the central problem of plagiarism is the following: As long as he had Bernou's *Relation*, based on La Salle's letters, Hennepin was able to give a coherent account of his travels precisely because during the period he was with La Salle, who kept a diary; but once left to his own devices, after parting with La Salle his wanderings are hopelessly muddled, and his chronology is impossible. Furthermore, during the entire time when he was separated from La Salle, the explorer's travels are so detailed, that he can be followed almost day by day.<sup>115</sup> Those who hold that La Salle had "Hennepin chronicling the events" cannot afford to ignore this important consideration, though it is more easily ignored than refuted. We conclude, therefore, that a comparison between the chronological and local sequence of events in the two parts of the *Description*, before and after February 29, 1680, leaves little doubt that two-thirds of the book is a direct plagiarism of the *Relation des decouvertes*.

After Hennepin's arrival at Montreal, the *Description* leaves no clue as to where he went next. We are not even told whether or when he went to Quebec. From his presence in Paris in 1682, the inference is that he passed through the capital of New France, and stopped at Quebec because he speaks of a letter sent to Father Leroux by Father Membré.<sup>116</sup> In this letter, as well as in one which is said to have been sent by the same missionary to Frontenac, and which the governor received "while I was regaining my health at his table," Father Membré is said to have given an account of the Iroquois attack on the Illinois in September 1680 and of the murder of Father de la Ribourde by prowling Indians. Because of the mutual dislike between Tonti<sup>117</sup> and himself which led to recriminations of La Salle's lieutenant in the *Description* and still worse abuse of him in the *New Discovery*, Hennepin places at Tonti's door the moral responsibility for the death of Father de la Ribourde. A comparison between the accounts of the killing of the missionary as found in Hennepin,

<sup>115</sup> "A Calendar of La Salle's Travels, 1643-1683," *loc. cit.*, 295-298.

<sup>116</sup> *Description de la Louisiane*, 302.

<sup>117</sup> Cf. Jean Delanglez, "Tonti Letters," in *MID-AMERICA*, XXI (July 1939), 234.

in Tonti's memoir and in La Salle's letter, will enable the reader to decide how far the charge is justified.<sup>118</sup>

That a letter was sent to Father Leroux some time in 1681 by Father Membré, telling the Superior of the Recollects in Canada of the death of Father de la Ribourde, is not only probable but quite certain, but before taking Hennepin's word about what Membré wrote with regard to the death of one of their brethren, anyone who takes into account Hennepin's dislike of Tonti and his tendency to read into a text pretty much what he pleased,<sup>119</sup> would prefer to wait until the letter itself comes to light. As for the letter of Membré to Frontenac, there is reason to doubt whether it ever existed. For we know that at the time Hennepin was recuperating in Montreal, namely, in the middle of May, La Salle, Tonti, and Father Membré were on their way to Lower Canada; and in the latter part of June, La Salle and Membré arrived at Fort Frontenac.<sup>120</sup> Membré could not have written a letter which would reach Frontenac at Montreal in May, for during the preceding months he was with Tonti among the Potawatomi cut off from all means of communication.

Though the *Description* is silent regarding Hennepin's whereabouts after he reached Montreal, the *New Discovery* written fifteen years later is not so reticent. He tells, in the latter work, how he accompanied Frontenac down the St. Lawrence; how they met Laval "as we were entering the river leading to the Fort of Champlain"; how Laval tried to worm information from him, and how he managed to hide from the bishop "our great discoveries." His next paragraph is queer. That he was asked by the bishop to do missionary work is implied, but not explicitly stated, in the opening sentences. He begs to be excused, telling His Excellency that "the Lord Count de Frontenac had prescribed me a very special course of diet," and he asks the bishop to be allowed

to return with him [Frontenac] to our convent of Quebec, there to live in seclusion; indeed, I was not then able to teach catechism to the children, nor was I able to take part as a missionary in the visitation which the Lord Bishop was then making of the few people in Canada; I needed rest which would enable me to work more vigorously afterwards.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>118</sup> Cf. Tonti's first memoir, Margry, I, 588; his second memoir, Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, 294; La Salle's letter of the autumn of 1681, Margry, II, 124-125.

<sup>119</sup> Cf. *Frontenac and the Jesuits*, 258, note 19.

<sup>120</sup> La Salle's letter, Margry, II, 158; Tonti's first memoir, Margry, I, 583.

<sup>121</sup> *Nouvelle découverte . . .*, 477-478.

To anyone who knows how the bishop felt toward Hennepin's religious brethren in general and toward himself in particular, it is very doubtful, to say the least, if Laval asked Hennepin to accompany him in the visitation of his diocese. He was given leave, he tells us, to finish his voyage as he had requested. With two of Frontenac's guards, "who were very good canoemen," he went to his convent of Quebec, avoiding the town itself, slipping in, so to speak, by the back door.<sup>122</sup> After accusing his Superior of copying his "journal" of the descent of the Mississippi, he goes on to tell us that Father Leroux "begged me to return to Europe to acquaint the public with the great discoveries I had made. . . . I followed [his] advice, and resolved to return to Europe."<sup>123</sup>

All this is very interesting, too interesting. As long as there was only the *New Discovery* as evidence, what is known of the fertile imagination of its author might have led one to wonder whether there might not be another story, a story which he might prefer to leave in the background, particularly since Hennepin gives no indication either in the *Description*, or in the *New Discovery*, or in the *New Voyage*, of how long he remained in Quebec nor of when he left for Europe. Now since the letters of M. Dudouyt to Bishop Laval are available, however, it is possible to catch a few glimpses of Hennepin during his last months in Canada.<sup>124</sup> In a letter begun March 9, 1682, and continued off and on until April 25, the vicar-general of the Bishop of Quebec wrote from Paris:

M. de Bernières has already written to me concerning the behavior of Father Louis [Hennepin], and has forwarded the letter which you sent him concerning his [Hennepin's] words and actions at Chamblis [Chambly]. M. Trouvé [a Sulpician] has told me how he behaved on the way from Quebec to France, how he kept on saying the same things against you, and the Jesuits, and M. the Intendant [Ducheneau] which he had been saying all the time in Canada. He heard confessions in all the settlements along the St. Lawrence below Quebec, although you had forbidden him to do so.<sup>125</sup>

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, 500-501.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, 504-505.

<sup>124</sup> These letters are in the Archives du Séminaire de Quebec (Laval University). They were used uncritically by A. Gosselin in his *Vie de M<sup>re</sup> de Laval*; Father Lemay printed all the passages which mention Hennepin, *Bibliographie du Père Louis Hennepin*, 16-24; his study "Le Père Louis Hennepin, récollet, à Paris, 1682," in *Nos Cahiers*, III, 1938, 105-140, is based on these letters; they naturally do not deal exclusively with Hennepin, for they also contain information about individuals connected with the missionary while he remained in Paris.

<sup>125</sup> Dudouyt to Laval, March 9-April 25, 1682, Archives du Séminaire de Québec, *Lettres*, Carton N, no. 61.

This letter tells us where Hennepin went after his return from the West. There is no evidence to show whether he went to Chambly directly or first to Quebec and then to Chambly. Since he was clearly *persona non grata* with Bishop Laval, might not the prelate have advised him to go back to Europe in order to regain his health? The other letters of M. Dudouyt make this hypothesis far from improbable. At any rate, Hennepin certainly makes no reference to the Chambly episode in any of his books. His stay at Chambly took place after May 1681. M. de Bernières' letter preceded him to France; at the latest, it was sent by the last mail ship which left Quebec between November 10 and November 17, 1681.<sup>126</sup>

Further light on Hennepin's stay in Lower Canada after his return from the West is obtainable from a letter of M. Dollier de Casson, the superior of the Sulpicians of Montreal. In 1681, steps were being taken to open a Recollect convent in Montreal. In a postscript to this letter, addressed to Hennepin's superior, Father Leroux, we read: "In the name of the Lord, for the sake of our union in Montreal [do] not [send anyone like] Father Louis [Hennepin]. I beg of you!"<sup>127</sup> Whether because of the Chambly episode, or for some other reason, M. Dollier clearly does not favor the idea of Hennepin's being assigned to the new foundation. He must have known where Hennepin was; perhaps he also knew that he was free, and that, as the superior of the Recollects was short of men, there might be a likelihood of sending him to Montreal.

Another indication of the activities of Hennepin during this same period is found in a letter of M. Tronson, the superior of the Sulpicians in Paris, to M. de Belmont. This letter is not dated, except for the year, 1683, but it is found between two others written February 21 and April 11. Margry, in printing an excerpt from it, dates the passage March 13, 1683.<sup>128</sup> M. Tronson divided his letter into numbered sections; the Margry excerpt, for instance, is n° 21, and the one which will be quoted here is n° 1. The letter is evidently an answer to one from Montreal written in the last months of 1682. With regard to section n° 1, it has been said:

To understand the passage in question one should have M. de Bel-

<sup>126</sup> *Jugements et délibérations*, II, 723, 727.

<sup>127</sup> Dollier de Casson to Leroux, October 29, 1681, printed in S. Le Tac, *Histoire chronologique de la Nouvelle France ou Canada . . .*, E. Réveillaud, ed., Paris, 1888, 215.

<sup>128</sup> Margry, II, 305.

mont's letter: "Celle [la pratique] du P. Louis ne fera pas une règle parmi eux [les Récollets], et je ne croy pas qu'il y en ait beaucoup aux mesmes extrémités." All that one may surmise is that this may refer to the pending project of the foundation of a Recollect convent at Montreal, in which foundation the Sulpicians were intimately interested.<sup>129</sup>

This surmise is incorrect. The passage in question does not refer to the foundation of a Recollect convent in Montreal. What it does refer to is specifically stated in the answer of M. Tronson. He begins thus: "We regard to the affairs of the Indians [of the Mission de la Montagne, in charge of M. de Belmont] I shall answer in a few words the fifty-two pages [26 feuillets] which you wrote."

The great question in 1682 was the unrestricted sale of hard liquor to the Indians; this was as energetically and uncompromisingly opposed by the Sulpicians as it was by the bishop, the diocesan clergy and the Jesuits.<sup>130</sup> M. Tronson's answer to M. de Belmont begins:

They are convinced here that drunkenness caused by the brandy trade is the source of great disorders in Canada, but they are also persuaded that it is necessary [in order that] commerce [may flourish]; hence we must not expect that the king will forbid it.

Louis XIV had been told that to stop the brandy trade would ruin the colony. "The instances [of disorders] which you mention are terrible,"<sup>131</sup> but it is useless to expect the government to regulate the nefarious traffic "as long as the governors do not send reports different from those they have been sending until now." All one can do is "to ask Our Lord to enlighten and move the hearts" of those in power who are in favor of the unrestricted sale of brandy to the Indians.

The practice of the Recollect Fathers will go far to increase [autorisera beaucoup] the disorder [caused by the brandy trade], if their practice is such as you say it is; that followed by Father Louis [Hennepin] will not be a rule among them, and I do not think that many will go to such extremes as he. I spoke to their Provincial who promised to send [to Canada] only good religious, and I am persuaded that he means it. God grant that he be not misled! Since M. the Marquis de Seignelay promised me to speak to him about it, I think this

<sup>129</sup> H. Lemay, *Bibliographie du P. Louis Hennepin*, 39.

<sup>130</sup> *Frontenac and the Jesuits*, 101 ff.

<sup>131</sup> Some instances may be seen in "Histoire de l'eau-de-vie en Canada," by M. de Belmont, printed in *Collection de Mémoires et de Relation sur l'histoire ancienne du Canada*, n. 8, Quebec, 1840.



will oblige him to be on his guard and to take special care in choosing those whom he will send.<sup>132</sup>

M. Dollier's letter to Father Leroux referred to above, is dated October 29, 1681. At that time, Hennepin was still in Canada apparently waiting for an assignment. Duluth, who had brought Hennepin back from the West, was ready to leave for France at the end of October. As has been seen, after hearing at Michilimackinac that he was looked upon as the chief of the *coureurs de bois*, he had hastened to Lower Canada to clear himself. Other serious charges were being made against him by La Salle and Duchesneau. The former maintained Duluth had "encroached upon his fur trade privileges";<sup>133</sup> in reality, La Salle was opposed to Duluth because La Salle "could brook no rivals."<sup>134</sup> Duchesneau claimed he was a partner of Frontenac in the illicit trade carried on with New England.<sup>135</sup> Frontenac had outwardly disowned Duluth in 1679,<sup>136</sup> and now the governor begged Seignelay to question the *coureur de bois* in order to discover the facts of the case; "and for this reason I am sending him to France notwithstanding the amnesty"<sup>137</sup> granted by the king in May 1681,<sup>138</sup> which had been engrossed into the registers of the Superior Council in the preceding August.<sup>139</sup> This letter of Frontenac is dated November 2, 1681; the last ships sailed for France between November 10 and November 17.<sup>140</sup>

(To be continued.)

JEAN DELANGLEZ

Institute of Jesuit History, Chicago

<sup>132</sup> Tronson to Belmont, 1683, n. 191. Copies of these letters are in the Dominion Archives, Ottawa, Canada.

<sup>133</sup> L. P. Kellogg, *The French Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest*, Madison, 1925, 213; cf. La Salle's letter, August 22, 1681, Margry, II, 251-254.

<sup>134</sup> L. P. Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, 334, note 4.

<sup>135</sup> Cf. Duchesneau to Seignelay, November 10, 1679, in E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Albany, 1855, IX, 131; *id.* to *id.*, November 13, 1680, *ibid.*, 141; memoir of Duchesneau, November 13, 1681, *ibid.*, 159-160.

<sup>136</sup> Frontenac to Colbert, November 6, 1679, in *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1926-1927*, Québec, 1927, 105.

<sup>137</sup> Frontenac to Seignelay, November 2, 1681, *ibid.*, 135.

<sup>138</sup> Amnistie pour les coureurs de bois de la Nouvelle-France, in *Edits, ordonnances royaux, déclarations et arrêts du Conseil d'Etat du Roi concernant le Canada*, 3 vols., Québec, 1854-1856, I, 249.

<sup>139</sup> *Jugements et délibérations*, II, 624.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, 723, 727.

## Captain Anza and the Case of Father Campos

Whoever has read Bolton's *Rim of Christendom* will recall the name of Father José Agustín de Campos, "next to Kino the most important missionary in Pimería Alta in the seventeenth century."<sup>1</sup> Campos came to Pimería in 1693, six years after the arrival of Francisco Eusebio Kino. In various ways the earlier portion of Campos's career was closely related to the career and activities of the great missionary and frontiersman, cattle-man and explorer whom history knows as Kino. While the latter's main mission and center of activities was Dolores in northern Sonora, the mission and residence of Father Campos for over forty years was San Ignacio almost twenty miles northwest. San Ignacio was sixty miles from the present Arizona border and directly south of the modern Nogales which rests upon the international line. Campos had under his care two other missions, one about six miles south, Magdalena, now a picturesque Sonora town, the other Imuris, the same distance north. These pueblos were strung along the delightful Sonora valley, then called the St. Ignatius, which is now threaded by a modern railway.

Campos and Kino worked often and for years together. Kino himself spoke of Campos as "the great master of the languages of all these nations."<sup>2</sup> Lieutenant Juan Mateo Manje wrote to the viceroy in glowing terms of the missions and the Jesuits, mentioning particularly Kino, Campos, and Minutuli. Campos was with Kino on the latter's first visit to the lower Altar River; he was in the midst of the famous uprising of 1694 when Father Francisco Saeta was martyred at Caborca, one hundred miles east from San Ignacio.<sup>3</sup> Campos bestirred himself to the rescue of his fellow Jesuit missionary, Daniel Janusque, at Tubutama, but was later himself forced to flee south to Cucurpe. He accompanied as chaplain General Domingo de Terán in forays northeast against the Apaches at the time the general met his death.

<sup>1</sup> Herbert E. Bolton, *Rim of Christendom*, New York, 1936, 270. Other references to Campos may be found in the index of the above work. See also Gerardo Decorme, S. J., *La obra de los Jesuitas en México en la época colonial*, MS., II, chap. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Bolton, *op. cit.*, 451.

<sup>3</sup> Manje narrates the exigencies of this uprising, mentioning Campos in his *Luz de la Tierra Incógnita . . .*, (edition published in Mexico, 1926), Lib. II, cap. 4, 236 ff.

When Kino visited Mexico City in 1695 Campos took charge of his mission at Dolores. When Kino was departing on one of his great expeditions northwest to the Colorado River Campos furnished his brother Jesuit with horses and provisions from his mission of San Ignacio for the exploration. In August 1702 Campos buried at San Ignacio his old fellow missionary, Francisco Gonzalvo, who had been laboring at San Xavier del Bac, near the present Tucson. For the period when the Altar Valley was without a padre both Campos and Kino kept an eye on that section and when Francisco Picolo came into the country as official visitor in 1705 Campos received him at San Ignacio; at the time he was busily engaged in building a church and house at Magdalena. The three of them, Picolo, Campos, and Kino rode north together to Cocospera not far from the Arizona line to inspect the mission there. Campos made expeditions into the desolate Seri country where these savages, the lowest of all whom the fathers contacted, lived like moth-eaten beasts on the waste and dreary upper reaches of the Gulf of California coast. It was Campos who with Father Antonio Leal encouraged Kino to write his famous *Favores Celestiales*. Towards the end of Kino's life when more men were needed and the missionaries were petitioning in vain, it was Campos, with Kino and Minutuli, who watched over the outlying districts. Finally after the great figure of the frontier came to the end of his earthly labors, at sixty-six years of age, it was Campos who consigned him to the grave.

Kino in March 1711 had come over to the mission of Father Campos, Santa Magdalena, to dedicate a finely built church. During the ceremonies he took suddenly and violently sick and was carried into Campos's house. He lay down upon his accustomed mattress of two calfskins where he died. Campos buried his friend in the church on the gospel side and wrote the epitaph commemorating a few of his resounding deeds. Then the tireless Campos rode fifty miles northwest to Tubutama, procured the body of Father Manuel Gonzales, first friend and companion of Kino in the mission, and carried it back to Magdalena where he laid it beside the body of Kino so that the two friends might rest together.

Thus closely was Father Agustín Campos associated with Kino. But he survived the pioneer Black Robe for over a quarter of a century. He lived almost continuously during this long period among his sons, the Pimas, at San Ignacio, and after Kino's death, according to Manje, made many *entradas* into the Yuma

country.<sup>4</sup> A tragedy unusual in mission lore came to Campos and proved to be a distressing and almost calamitous episode for the missions and for their *padres*. Failing in mind during his last days, he died ultimately broken by the weight of many years and many conflicts, exiled from his mission. Indeed, as one who knows most about him once remarked, his activities and his vicissitudes would fill an interesting volume.

Father Campos, for all his heroism of labor and sacrifice in the missions of Pimería Alta, had early shown signs of what seemed at the time to be an individualistic temperament, but what were later analyzed as indications of mental disturbance. He had at least one brush with Kino. When the latter sent Indian justices from Dolores to arrest the murderers of Father Saeta, and as these envoys were passing through San Ignacio, Campos interfered to the extent of sending them point-blank back to Dolores with a strong letter for Kino. Campos in this missive, though he was not Kino's superior and was his junior both in years and in the mission, took him to task for meddling in secular affairs. Campos's impetuous spirit is again glimpsed in a letter to Kino, incorporated by the latter in his *Favores Celestiales*. "Petition, petition again," writes Campos, "clamor, clamor again to the Señor Viceroy" for additional missionaries for the northwestern country of the Colorado and the Gila.<sup>5</sup> Eleven years after Kino's death, namely, in 1722, Campos had a misunderstanding with his superiors and was ordered from the missions down to Mexico City. We are ignorant of the circumstances, but his return to San Ignacio the following year would argue that he enjoyed a favorable hearing from the provincial, Father José Arjo, who later joined Campos in the labors of the Pimería.

Presumably, the Jesuits considered such incidents as extraordinary, but attributable to nerves and trying labors in difficult surroundings. But outbursts of temperament increased in number and intensity as time wore on. Campos's forty years of heroic service gave way to one filled with turbulence. His mind was becoming clouded, and unfortunately it was some time before his superiors became fully aware of the condition or realized the gravity of the old man's mental affliction. One will travel far in the Jesuit missionary annals before coming upon a story so unique and witnessing a train of events so extraordinarily dis-

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 304.

<sup>5</sup> Bolton, *Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta*, 2 vols., Los Angeles, 1919, II, 69.

turbing. One hundred and sixty-four manuscript pages in the Mexican National Archives, consisting of fifty-two letters written by Jesuit superiors and missionaries, tell the astounding story.<sup>8</sup> This weighty mass of documents might lead the unwary to magnify the importance of the events, but they tell only of an episode and are tributes to the spirit of humanitarianism manifested by Jesuit superiors and Captain Anza toward an unfortunate laborer.

Early in the year 1735 there was appointed a new governor of Nueva Vizcaya, Señor Manuel Bernal Huidobro, who was looked upon by the fathers as a bitter enemy of their Order. He was the same who had such unpleasant relations with the fathers in Lower California during the uprising of 1733. Soon after his appointment as governor he made an official visitation of the Sonora missions, but contrived to hide his real feelings under a cloak of seeming pleasantness and sympathy. His real colors, however, showed themselves in an official memorial on the state and proper management of the missions. Number nineteen of the memorial was an attack upon the ecclesiastical immunities of the missionaries. Campos at San Ignacio suddenly grew active. He told those about him and wrote letters to the effect that the animosity of the Governor toward the Jesuits was to be blamed upon the fathers themselves, and especially upon the Father Visitor, Luis María Marciano.

The fathers in Sonora considered that this number nineteen of Governor Huidobro's report should be answered in properly documented form so that the immunities of the Jesuits might be proved to the Governor from the law. Father José Toral was appointed for this task and in due time finished his work. The document had the approval of a cleric of high standing, Don Juan José de Grijalva, the Señor Vicario, probably representing in Sonora the Bishop of Durango. Toral's reply to the Governor was sent around to all the Jesuit missionaries of the province for signatures to add to the document more official and corporate weight. Campos alone refused to sign. Instead, he indited a lengthy document defending the Governor and attacking the position of his Jesuit brethren in an insulting manner. Copies of this letter he sent to the Governor, to the Vicar, Grijalva, to the Provincial, Barba, in Mexico City, and to others. This happened sometime in August 1735.

<sup>8</sup> *Archivo General y Público de la Nación* (hereinafter cited as A. G. N.), *Historia*, tomo 333, fol. 1 to 82. Transcripts in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.



When the Visitor, Marciano, learned what Campos had done he decided to hold a meeting at Cucurpe of all the fathers working in this mission unit, *Rectorado de los Dolores*, some ten or twelve in number, and to give a penance to Campos for his action, reading him a public chapter and demanding from him a *culpa*, or public declaration of his fault in the refectory. Presumably, either Marciano underestimated the mental disturbance of Campos, or sought to test him out by requesting this rather mild apology. But this could not be done as the Visitor had planned, for Campos did not put in an appearance, pleading illness. The Visitor then sent Luis Xavier Velarde, together with Fathers Ignatius Xavier Keller and Nicolás de Perera up to San Ignacio to impose the penance upon Campos at his mission. Campos submitted. But on September 4 Campos wrote from San Ignacio to Luis María Gallardi, rector of Dolores and therefore his immediate superior, the one man who seemed to enjoy his confidence, protesting against the injustice of the treatment he had received, defending his action in writing his defense of the Governor, and threatening to have revenge by provoking an uprising among his Pimas, aided by the Seris and the Tiburones. This letter is typical of all his letters from then on to the end and even after the crisis: it is obscure, jumbled, rebellious, and sarcastic in the extreme.

Campos was now commanded by Marciano, "by the formality of Holy Obedience" not to send out any letters without first showing them to his superiors. This command under obedience obliged him to obey according to his vow and made disobedience a serious offense. All during November Campos was furious.<sup>7</sup> The Visitor then ordered Gallardi, rector and friend of Campos, to issue another order under obedience to the recalcitrant. Accordingly, on December 10, Campos was ordered to get together all copies of his bitter criticisms of the Society of Jesus and to send them to the Visitor, and to get back all copies he had already sent to various people. On December 23 Gallardi wrote again to Campos worried because he had no reply to his letters of the tenth, though he knew Campos received the missive. On Christmas Day the Visitor, aroused and alarmed, ordered Gallardi to forward to Campos a copy of a portion of the letter meant for Campos himself. This paragraph contains three points for Campos's attention: that the only governor who has been inimical to the Order is the present one; "Never have I," writes

<sup>7</sup> A. G. N., *Historia*, tomo 333, fol. 40.

Marciano, "seen a Jesuit who was against his mother, the Society, and who has written such letters as Your Reverence against her."<sup>8</sup> This mode of action cannot go on, continues the Visitor. Besides, the *partido* of San Ignacio must give the ordinary financial contribution. If there be no ready money, then let the payment be made in mules. Visitor Marciano now threatens Campos that if these payments be not made immediately, then he will appoint a father for San Ignacio who will make them. Gallardi adds a few sentences to this stern note from the Visitor in which he urges Campos to obey with that religious spirit of obedience he has heretofore always shown.

Thus the Christmas season of 1735 and the new year came and went, but the storm-petrel still proclaimed his preference for stormy seas. Unfortunately Father Gallardi, Campos's immediate superior and trusted friend, died early in the year and Luis Velarde was made vice-rector of the Rectorado de Dolores. As early as January 9, 1736, Velarde wrote to Campos, both in his own name and in the name of Visitor Marciano, commanding him in virtue of holy obedience to send into headquarters all papers in his possession bearing on the present matter. Campos was likewise again forbidden to write to anyone without first showing his letter to the superior of the mission, and when he did write to "let the letters treat only of business."<sup>9</sup>

Thus the new year opened and this letter from Velarde is well understandable, for Campos in his missives had been habitually revealing a distorted thought process. These repeated commands were no sedative to the effervescent spirit of the old veteran, nor indeed was anything anybody might say or do, especially if these were his superiors. Why, it might be asked, did the superiors take them at all seriously? The answer most probably is that Campos was an ancient in the land, a great worker in his time. Moreover, charity on the one hand forbade branding a man as insane and medical examinations for assessing actions were unheard of in Pimería.

The crisis of this whole affair was reached the spring of 1736. On February 9 Campos wrote Visitor Marciano a letter so stormy, bitter, and obscure that it seems clearly the product of an overwrought brain. Campos excuses himself on the plea of illness for not having congratulated Marciano on his appointment as visitor, speaks of his own many grievances, his penance

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 37.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 38.

of eight days, his letter to the Governor, and a motley multitude of jumbled things.<sup>10</sup> He appends a *pliego* or apology, written to his superiors of the Rectorado de Dolores. Campos insultingly entitled this diatribe *Respuesta a la junta de ingenios*, Reply to the Council of Geniuses, referring to the group of consultants who met with the Visitor to devise ways and means of meeting the insubordination of the old padre. He calls this document in sarcasm his *historia*, *historita*, *historiola*; *cuento*, *cuentico*, *como dicen esos ingenios, y me acumulan de sin substancia*. The fathers have accused him without any foundation in fact, superiors have blundered stupidly in the past in these missions. Finally in this document the old man comes back to the present charge against him: "They said that I wrote to Governor Huidobro a poorly composed, acrid and insulting letter and that after a few days I wrote another . . ."<sup>11</sup> Apparently, the time of the arrival of the Governor coincided with that of Campos's complete mental breakdown.

Marciano received this letter at Ures where Father Nicolás de Perera found him in a state of collapse, not only because of Campos's attack but through worry over the scandal of the whole affair. However, Marciano rose to the occasion in a Christian spirit and answered these insults, February 18, humbly and kindly. But this was not weakness; it was the restraining strength of Christian humility. On February 27 Marciano acted toward confining Campos, when, after taking counsel with the fathers, he indited letters to Perera, Keller, Roxas, Gallerati, and Campos. Nicolás de Perera as the Visitor's secretary or vicar was told to act with full authority. Marciano then "orders and ordains" that Campos is to be removed first to Cucurpe where he is to be put into a room under the surveillance of Perera and allowed no communication with Indians, seculars, or even servants, except those necessary for his personal care. He is to have no writing materials and to receive no letters. Such letters as come to him are to be forwarded to Marciano. Then after the necessary arrangements for mules and provisions Campos is to be sent to the college at Chihuahua. To make his journey easier Father Keller is to accompany him to Cuquiarachi (which is on the road east to Chihuahua) and from there Father Carlos de Roxas will take charge of him as far as Basaraca, where Father Ignacio Arjo will see him to Janos. If Campos is too ill to travel,

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 1.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 4.

then let him be kept closely under surveillance at Cucurpe until orders shall have arrived from Mexico. During this time Campos is to have what is necessary and to be treated with all charity. Perera or some other father is to read to him every day passages from *The Imitation of Christ*, from Alphonso Rodríguez on obedience, books on the state and duties of the religious life, and Ignatius Loyola on the virtue of obedience.

This letter was written from Rosario del Pescadero. On that same day, February 27, Visitor Marciano also wrote to Campos, Keller, and Roxas giving the same orders, and to Father Constancio Gallerati, rector of the college of Chihuahua, saying that Campos was about to come to his college. Campos before leaving San Ignacio was officially to hand over the mission to Father Juan Nieto.

The fireworks started on Tuesday, March 6, when Perera endeavored to serve these notices of departure upon Campos at San Ignacio and to get him to hand over the charge of the mission to Nieto. On that day the three fathers, Perera, Keller, and Nieto, converged upon San Ignacio and upon poor Campos. Of the extraordinary events which ensued we have a clear narrative from the pen of Perera writing to Visitor Marciano at one o'clock in the morning of Thursday, March 8. Nieto also wrote an account of the crisis to the Provincial, Barba, and this agrees in all details with the story of Perera.

On Monday, March 5, Perera with Nieto, according to orders, left Cucurpe for San Ignacio arriving there late. Keller had not yet come in until later. They found Campos in bed. From the number of Pima Indians and Spaniards about, it became evident what Campos had done, even as the loyal Indians told the fathers. Campos had written to Spaniards of the vicinity to come to his defense physically and to prevent the arrival of the fathers at San Ignacio. Likewise he had made a *tlatole* with his Pimas, namely, had gathered them together in a sort of indignation meeting and urged them to stand by him in the approaching crisis. Indeed, armed Indians of Imuris tried to impede the journey of Perera and Nieto to San Ignacio.

Now on Tuesday morning when Perera and Nieto, with Keller following, passed before the house of Campos on their way to the church to say Mass, they saw that Campos was in the *ramada* or porch with the Indian governor of San Ignacio, Indian justices, and some Spaniards. The fathers saluted Campos, but the old man's irritation broke forth at once. He shouted out to



Perera asking him why he had come to San Ignacio, and what purpose he had in mind. Perera naturally had desired to deliver his papers with the utmost secrecy, but this became now impossible. Perera was forced to tell the purpose of his coming by handing over to Campos the Visitor's letter ordering him to leave San Ignacio and go to Chihuahua. Campos took the letter, opened it forthwith, and in the presence of all bystanders read its contents in a loud voice. Then, as if out of himself with rage, he began to shout out insults against Visitor Marciano. He insisted that he would never hand over the mission, unless ordered to do so by the Provincial.

For approval of this outburst Campos turned to the Indians who were present. Whereupon the Indian governor spoke out taking Campos by the hand: "You will not go, Father, you will not go; for we will defend you." Father Keller now told the Indian to hold his peace, while Perera administered to Campos some very clear and very personal reflections. Perera pointed out to Campos the scandal of his slight religious spirit, of his making thus public the orders of his superiors, and especially of his calling together and inciting to insubordination the Indians of his several pueblos. The fathers were able ultimately to quiet the Indians, and Campos retired within his house.<sup>12</sup> Perera followed Campos into his room and there administered to him officially a reprehension in the name of Visitor Marciano, though he softened somewhat its terms.<sup>13</sup>

Campos now feigned repentance and humbly confessed his fault, this in the presence also of Fathers Nieto and Keller. Perera now notified him that according to the orders of his superior, Marciano, he must formally and officially hand over the mission of San Ignacio, with its *visitas* of Magdalena and Imuris, to Nieto. Campos refused, and when told that whether he would obey in this or not he must in any event leave San Ignacio for Cucurpe thence on to Chihuahua, he feigned illness and said he could not mount a horse. Perera replied that he would then be carried in a chair. When Campos said there was no chair, Perera said he would fetch one. Perera assured Campos that no gathering of Indians could intimidate him from following out the orders of his superiors, but Campos tried to convince him that the Indi-

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 61. Father Cristóbal de Cañas referring to this scene in a letter to the Provincial says that what is certain is that Campos has gone "from abyss to abyss so that he is enraged or crazy or completely out of himself."

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 63 f.



ans rose simply from grief and emotion at the prospect of losing one who had reared them since childhood. Perera now left the room and confronted the Pimas who were gathered outside. He scolded them severely. They must obediently accept what missionary would be given them.

The following day, Wednesday, March 7, the continued insubordination of Campos added to the seriousness of the situation. But finally Campos gave in to the extent of pleading for a month's delay, and this compromise was accepted by Perera. The three fathers prepared to return to Cucurpe. But the Indians kept coming in, nor did Campos try to quiet them. The Spaniards of the northern parts of Sonora became alarmed. They feared an uprising and consequent stoppage of work by the Indian laborers in the mines called Arizona. These Spaniards addressed themselves to the highest civic authority in the land, the Señor Justicia Major, begging him to intercede in favor of Campos's continued residence at San Ignacio. This he did. Don Juan Bautista de Anza, captain of the forces at the presidio of Fronteras and father of the more famous Anza of California and New Mexico history, then entered the scene. He had long harbored a sincere affection for the padre and moved by this he interceded on his behalf. Anza thought at least a delay in view of the threatening temper of the Pimas would be wise. It was further feared the Opatas might come up from the south. In this case there would be bloodshed.

All during Wednesday the Indians kept coming in. By eleven that night there was a large and angry crowd of them at San Ignacio. Campos told them he was about to be taken away by force. They said they would rise and defend their padre. One hour after midnight, Perera sat down to write to Marciano, giving him the state of affairs and admitting to much trouble and confusion. He confides to Marciano that to carry out orders at the present time seems too dangerous, and says the three of them will leave in the morning for Cucurpe, having granted Campos a delay; the fate of Campos's companion on the mission, Father Julio de Echagoian, is likewise to be feared. The Indians might slay him. Perera asks Marciano for directions. At day-break Perera, Keller, and Nieto departed with heavy hearts on the journey south thirty miles to Cucurpe, fearing the worst and especially fearing for the life of Father Echagoian. Thus ended the first crisis, just short of tragedy. The Indians actually did not rise, even though Campos was now calling in Spaniards to

his aid, and the fathers began to think the threat of uprising was a bluff.

Campos now thoroughly complicated matters by fleeing north ten miles to his pueblo of Imuris. He fortified himself in a stronghold called *Rochela de Imuris*, appointed Indian sentinels and sent out spies! Marciano at Ures a hundred miles south, having heard all, evidently accepted the proposition of delay, but commanded Campos under obedience to dismiss the Indians. On March 10, the very day after the departure of the fathers from San Ignacio, Campos again took the pen in his own defense. He wrote of the uprising of the Indians. They had risen before, he warned, once against Father Keller. There were more than three hundred armed Indians. Had the fathers attempted anything there would have been murder and bloodshed.<sup>14</sup>

Things were quiet now for the rest of March and during the early part of April 1736. Then the fireworks started again. Marciano, in consultation with the fathers, was willing to concede Campos a month's respite before insisting upon his fulfillment of the orders given him; they had determined, however, that the orders be ultimately carried out. Promptly then on April 9, just a month since the first crisis reached its peak, Perera wrote to Campos from Cucurpe saying that now sufficient time had elapsed to quiet the Indians and to take over the mission; he said he would soon come with Nieto to attend to the final making over of the papers.

This letter got up to Imuris in a day and Campos answered immediately. He would fight it out! He tells Perera the Indians are each day more determined in their stand and had they not been withheld by him they would have marched to Cucurpe to destroy the pueblo. He will write to the Provincial in Mexico City, he will write to the viceroy also; he will even carry his case to Rome to the Father General. Several days passed before the Visitor acted in the following manner. To aid in dislodging Campos from his stronghold at Imuris the Visitor Marciano sent up Father José Toral with definite instructions: Campos is to be gotten out, an uprising is to be prevented, the secular arm is to aid in both the one and the other. The mission is to be handed over to Father Gaspar Steiger instead of to Nieto.

Toral immediately upon receipt of Marciano's letter left his mission of Banamichi to go to Imuris, seventy-five miles northwest. The date of his departure was approximately April 19. He

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 20.

left on a Wednesday and on Thursday morning was at Cucurpe. Here Toral met Captain Anza, told him of his purpose to execute the orders of his superiors and reminded the Captain that in case of an uprising it was his duty to protect the fathers with an armed force. An Indian scout reported to Keller (probably also at Cucurpe) that not many Indians had gathered at Imuris, but that the Cacique Lázaro had sworn that did they attempt to remove Campos he would kill the captain and the fathers all. Toral, nevertheless, probably with Keller, set out for Imuris. Captain Anza with a band of soldiers started for the same pueblo taking another route. When the fathers arrived at Remedios, twenty miles from their destination, they paused to consider the gravity of the situation. There were indeed signs of preparation for an uprising. Spies reported seditious activities. His lieutenants reported these things to Captain Anza and added that Campos was urging his Indians on. They said there would certainly be an uprising.

Toral was ready to disperse the fathers and call upon the loyal Pimas themselves to remove Campos even if it took a year. He wrote to Marciano:

How afflicted we were in such extremities, seeing that a whole province of the Church might be lost, and its destruction be brought about by one of our men. This would involve the good name of the whole Society. But we fathers at the risk of our lives stood firm to quiet these disturbances and to carry out your orders by removing the father who was the cause of all the trouble.<sup>15</sup>

Happily things did not come to the point of Indian rebellion and destruction of the mission. The knowledge that Captain Anza was marching to Imuris with a troop of soldiers was probably too much for Campos. As Anza was approaching Imuris there came out to meet him a Spaniard, Mariano de Sosa, with word about Campos. The message of Sosa was the following: Father Campos had called him to his room. Here the father, weeping and kissing his soutane or robe, in the presence of Sosa bewailed the many and grave scandals he had caused, saying that because of these things he was an unworthy Jesuit. Campos begged Sosa to go to Captain Anza and to manifest to him his repentance, and to inform Father Toral that he stood now ready to obey superiors in all things. Such is the message Sosa carried to Anza as the latter was approaching Imuris. Sosa added his own opin-

---

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

ion that perhaps Campos had already spoken to the Indians to quiet them.

Hearing this good news from Sosa, Campos's ambassador, Captain Anza did not continue on the road to Imuris, but with his troops returned to Remedios taking Sosa with him to carry the happy news to Father Toral. Toral says that Anza dropped on his knees before him and in favor of Campos begged the three following concessions: Not to take Campos to Cucurpe, for the padre feared imprisonment there; not to come to Imuris at all for Campos had promised to leave the mission of his own accord with arrangements made for its transfer to Nieto; that Campos be allowed to go to the presidio at Fronteras and be a guest in Anza's house there until his health be regained. Father Toral reported on this: "I was only too happy to grant the requests so far as I could. I asked the Captain to inform the father that I would be all charity to him." Anza took this down in writing, gave the script to Sosa, who hastened back to Imuris to give it to Campos. Toral was willing to allow Campos to go directly to the presidio at Fronteras, though he could not on his own authority grant him permission to remain there for the length of a convalescence. Only Marciano could decide this. The point of his not coming to Imuris Toral could not concede. From Remedios, then, Toral, Perera, and Steiger, who had joined them, on April 22, in company with Captain Anza and his soldiers started on the seventeen mile journey to Imuris. Toral praised Anza, and spoke of the soldiers "which he [Anza] for his love for the Society furnished us, but unofficially so that it would not have to go on the records and the reputation of the Society thus be safeguarded."

Arrived at Imuris the company went directly to Campos's house. Captain Anza gave his orders and the soldiers stood at attention. As the fathers were dismounting there came to the door Campos himself supported by two Indians. Indian justices were there, and a crowd of Pimas began to gather. After a few preliminary exchanges, Toral reminded Campos of the public apology or *culpa* he had been ordered to make by Marciano. Campos had the apology ready in writing and at the request of Toral he read it, partly in Pima, partly in Spanish, before the fathers, the soldiers, and the crowding Indians. It was to the effect that he had been gravely at fault, but was now consoled and at peace. He revoked all that he had formerly said. Let it now be buried in the past. After this apology Campos, still sup-



ported by his two Indians, went over to the church with the fathers and formally in their presence handed over the sacred vessels to Steiger, whom Toral rejoiced to see now in charge of this mission. By the following day, April 23, everything had been settled and Campos was prepared to leave. At eight o'clock in the morning of April 24, accompanied by Nieto and a band of soldiers, Campos started from Imuris on his way almost directly east to Cuquiarachi and the presidio of Fronteras which were eighty and ninety miles distant respectively.

Toral's long report on this seemingly happy denouement was written from Imuris itself April 23, the day before Campos left, and it was signed by Toral and the three other fathers who were at the pueblo, namely, Nieto, Perera, and Steiger. But there was no grain of unkindness in Toral. He makes a long plea with the Visitor that Campos actually be allowed to remain for the period of his convalescence at the house of Captain Anza. The Captain, argues Toral, is devoted to the Society and to Campos. Indeed, his home at Fronteras has been the fathers' home, and the Captain's wife, an excellent lady, is very devoted and charitable. Campos will receive much better care and be much happier here than at Cuquiarachi, for the poor father is very old and sick.

Thus Toral wrote on the evening of April 23. But the following morning Toral noticed that whereas Campos all that day and the preceding went around as a very sick and lame man supported by his two Indians, on the twenty-fourth, the day of his departure, he walked without any support at all. Therefore, in a postscript to his report written April 24 Toral concludes that Campos's sickness is all a fiction and thus informs the Visitor that he might the better understand. Marciano probably did not need Toral's warning. Due to Campos's mental condition the plan of sending him to Chihuahua, three hundred miles southeast, seems to have been dropped.

For several months Father Campos addressed numerous amazing missives to his superiors and fellow missionaries. They were long, inconsistent, querelous, and even scandalous. At times his mental condition was such as to inspire great pity for one who had served the missions so heroically in earlier years. Finally, writing to the Father General, he begged that he be permitted to return to his old mission at San Ignacio. But alas for poor Campos! A note is appended to this the last document pertinent to this affair to the effect that Campos wrote to the Provincial and received a reply from him through Marciano denying him permission to return to San Ignacio.



As a refreshing epilogue to this Campos episode let us cite a letter of Captain Juan Bautista de Anza written from Imuris April 21, 1736, to the Provincial:

Very Reverend Father Provincial and my Superior: Through the favor of Reverend Father Juan Antonio Oviedo<sup>16</sup> I have received the honor of being admitted as a brother into the venerated Society of Jesus without any merit on my part except my great and recognized affection for the Society, because of what it has done for Nueva Vizcaya in general, and the close friendship I have enjoyed with the missionary fathers of these provinces in the course of the twenty-four years I have held service here.<sup>17</sup>

Anza now goes over the second Campos crisis of April, giving exactly the same facts as are contained in Father Toral's report to Marciano, adding only that when the angry Pimas came to him asking that he prevent the removal of Campos he replied correctly that this was in the hands of Campos's Jesuit superiors, and he reproached these Indians for the disorder of their procedure. They begged pardon for their ignorance. The trouble with the Indians is now ended, continues Anza. The Captain now begs the Provincial that he allow Campos to live and be cared for in his home at Fronteras, "whom with much joy and charity I will attend in my home until his death, for in his present state of health he has not much longer to live. Since I am a [Jesuit] brother I can with joy serve the sick in my house with permission of superiors."<sup>18</sup> The request had not at least by August yet been granted. How long Campos lived we do not know. But the mission was quiet again and its military captain was a Jesuit "brother."

The status of Anza as a Jesuit brother leaves much room for speculation, since it was so very unusual. He lives apart from the Jesuit community, remained married and in his home, and continued under military obedience, and hence it is impossible to believe that he made the customary vows of the Jesuits, poverty, chastity, and obedience. Certainly in his circumstances he could assume no great number of the obligations of religious life, and if he had assumed the obligations he could not have been readily exempted from them in whole or in essential parts. Moreover, the

<sup>16</sup> Oviedo was Provincial of the Province of New Spain from November 4, 1729, to November 4, 1733, and from November 3, 1736, to June 25, 1739.

<sup>17</sup> A. G. N., *Historia*, tomo 333, fol. 77. Anza speaks of having secured from the Reverend Father (Provincial?) a dispensation from certain obligations concerning religion (the religious life?), and states that he is doing the best he can in that respect. *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 79.

Jesuits did not have a Third Order, that is of men living in lay circumstances and partaking of certain spiritual duties and privileges of the Order. A surmise may be made as to Anza's actual status, namely, that the Provincial permitted him to come under the Society's direction in spiritual practices without binding either party in the legal and cononical manner. The Provincial, Juan Antonio de Oviedo, who "received" Anza, a Colombian by birth, was in office from November 1729 to November 1733.

Anza was of a distinguished family always known to be on very friendly terms with the Jesuits of Sonora. His father had been an officer on the frontier of Sonora for thirty years, where Anza served from 1712, the year after Kino's death, until 1739. Father Francisco Xavier de Mora, one of Kino's former superiors, died at Arizpe in Anza's arms.<sup>19</sup> Eventually Anza became captain of the presidio of Fronteras and he was acting in this capacity during the Campos incident. The Captain saw the decline of the northern Sonora missions after Kino's death and their recuperation with the coming of Father Jacobo Sedelmayr, who was at Tubutama in 1736, and of Father Ignacio Keller, who was at Suamca the same year.<sup>20</sup> Anza saw the beginning of new troubles in 1737 when the Lower Pimas of Tecoripa and Suaqui rose and fled to Cerro Prieto.<sup>21</sup> He was sent in pursuit of the fugitives and brought them back to their pueblos after executing three ringleaders among whom was Chief Arizivi. But he did not live to see the more serious Yaqui and Mayo revolt of 1740, for he was slain the previous year by the Apaches.<sup>22</sup> Juan Bautista de Anza, Jr., the "more famed son,"<sup>23</sup> was born in 1735 and was a babe in arms during the Campos episode. Like his father and grandfather he served many years on the same frontier and carried on the tradition of his family through his friendly relations with the last generation of Jesuits before the expulsion of 1767.

PETER M. DUNNE

University of San Francisco

<sup>19</sup> Bolton, *Rim of Christendom*, 593.

<sup>20</sup> José Ortega, *Historia del Nayarit*, Mexico, 1887, 427.

<sup>21</sup> *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, series IV, vol. I, 219.

<sup>22</sup> H. H. Bancroft, *The North Mexican States and Texas*, San Francisco, 1884, I, 521, 524.

<sup>23</sup> His activities are recorded in Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, 5 vols., Berkeley, 1930; and Alfred B. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers*, Norman, 1932.

## DOCUMENTS

# Population of the El Paso District in 1692

### INTRODUCTION

From the point of view of social and cultural conditions, our knowledge of the El Paso district in the period from 1685 to 1725 is very meager. The following census list, published here for the first time, throws new light on the subject.<sup>1</sup> It is more than a mere list of names, for it gives a good picture of life in the El Paso settlements in the year 1692.<sup>2</sup> It should be of special value to students of Texas and New Mexico history. The census was taken by Governor Vargas of New Mexico from December 22, 1692, to January 2, 1693, for the purpose of ascertaining the number of settlers to be taken from the El Paso settlements to recolonize New Mexico. The list does not include the soldiers of the presidio, the missionaries, nor all of the local officials. When the census was examined by the viceroy of New Spain, the Conde de Galve, he also had before him the letters of certification from Governor Vargas, dated January 2 and 12, 1693, and correspondence from Vargas and the *cabildo* of Santa Fe, which had its headquarters at El Paso since the withdrawal from New Mexico in 1680, dated El Paso, January 3, 11, and 12, 1693.<sup>3</sup> These letters emphasized the destitute condition of the settlers. According to Governor Vargas the householders were living on the same miserable economic scale as were their servants. They lacked sufficient clothing, and only about one-fourth of the inhabitants had as much as a single horse. The *cabildo* pointed out that the residents were in desperate need of government aid due to the extreme poverty of the settlements, and that only one-fourth of the New Mexico exiles of 1680 were still living in the El Paso dis-

<sup>1</sup> This document may be found in *Audiencia de Guadalajara*, legajo no. 139, Archivo General de Indias, Seville. Photostatic copies are in the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., and the Coronado Library, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque.

In the translation no changes have been made in the spelling of proper names; they have been left exactly as they are found in the original manuscript, hence the variations in spelling and the absence of accent marks.

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of the exact location of the five towns listed in this census, see Carlos E. Castañeda, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, The Mission Era: The Finding of Texas, 1519-1693*, I, 275-277.

<sup>3</sup> A. G. I., *Guadalajara*, legajo no. 139.

trict. The census reveals that at this time, 1692-1693, the total population of the district was approximately 1,000.<sup>4</sup>

#### THE DOCUMENT

I have named as witnesses to accompany me on the visit [to be made in order to take the census], Sergeant Major Francisco de Anaya Almazan, ordinary alcalde of first vote, and Captain Juan Garcia de Noriega, alguacil mayor of the *cabildo*.

Don Diego de Vargas Zapata Lujan Ponze de Leon. Before me, Alphonso Rael de Aguilar, secretary of government and war.

#### *Pueblo del Passo*

Today, the said day and year of the above record, in full compliance with it, I, said governor and captain general, accompanied by the witnesses therein named, and with the assistance of my secretary of government and war, began the personal visit to obtain the census and list of the residents, in their houses, in which they live, in this pueblo of El Paso del Rio del Norte, of the kingdom of New Mexico, in the following manner:

First I visited the house of Captain Antonio Montoya, ordinary alcalde of second vote, married to Maria Hurtado, with eight children, three males and five females: Juan, eighteen years of age, Andres, fourteen years old, and Antonio, a babe in arms, Juana, thirteen years old, Maria, eleven years old, Antonia, seven, Nicolasa, five, and Thomasa, three years of age.

Captain Juan Garcia de Noriega, alguacil mayor of the *cabildo*, married to Francisca Sanchez y Yñigo, with three sons and a daughter: Juan Antonio, eleven years old, Francisco, seven years old, Joseph, five years old, Maria, two years old. Also found in the said house were the following servants: Juana, eighteen years of age, Luisa, twenty years old, Getrudes, seven years old, Bernardino, four, Maria, five years old, Monica, five years old, Alonso, three years old, Matheo, one year old, Antonio, nine years old.

Adjutant Antonio Luzero, councilman [*regidor*], married to

<sup>4</sup> For the population of the El Paso district in the early 1680's see Charles W. Hackett, ed., *Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773*, III, 327-328, note 133, and Castañeda, I, 254. We have no exact figures for the period immediately after 1693. However, in 1693 a large number of the El Paso residents moved north to establish new homes in and around Santa Fe. See J. Manuel Espinosa, "New Light on the History of the Reconquest of New Mexico," *MID-AMERICA*, XXII (1940), 271. A description of the El Paso settlements in 1726 may be found in General Don Pedro de Rivera's *Diario* . . . , quoted in Castañeda, I, 276.

Antonia Varela de Perea, with three sons and two daughters: Antonio, five years old, Juan, three years old, Diego, one year old, Martina, fifteen years old, Bernardina, seven years old. Also two sisters, one a widow named Geronima, without children, and the other Maria, eighteen years old, and an orphan girl eleven years old.

Diego Montoya, councilman, married to Josepha de Hinojos, with six children: Salvador, three years old, Juan Esteban, five years old, Antonio, three years old, Maria de la Rosa, eight years old, Luisa, four years old, Juana, two years old. Also, in the same house, two married servants named Antonio and Ana Duran, his wife. He says that as a loyal vassal of his Majesty he is very willing to enter [New Mexico] and settle there with his wife and children when I, said governor and captain general, enter.

Captain Joseph Tellez Xiron, married to Doña Cathalina Romero, with one daughter named Jacintha Tellez Xiron, and another named Maria Zapata, and he states that she has a maiden daughter who is with her brother Juan Tellez Xiron, and that she writes to the said son telling him to bring her here, and her name is Juana Tellez. He also states that he has two other children, Lucia and Catalina. Also five servants named Getrudes, Maria, Josepha, Ysabel, and Nicolas. And he says that as a loyal vassal of his Majesty he is very willing to enter [New Mexico] whenever I, said governor and captain general, enter to colonize the said kingdom.

Sergeant Major Juan Luzero de Godoy, married to Doña Ysabel de Salazar. He declares as his children Mathias, thirty years old, Cayetano Luzero, forty years old, and Barbara, one year old. He states that he has four servants: Maria, Juana, Josepha, and Juan. And he says that as a loyal vassal of his Majesty, he is very willing to enter [New Mexico] with his family whenever I, said governor and captain general, enter to colonize the said kingdom.

Sergeant Major Bartolome Gomez Robledo, bachelor. He declares as his family the following persons: Doña Juana Ortiz, his widowed sister, Doña Ana Maria Robledo, Doña Maria Ortiz, Francisca, Lucia, Maria Rossa, Doña Ana Gomez, Gregoria, and Francisca. Also four female and two male servants named Magdalena, Petrona, Maria, Ana, Luis, and Sevastian. And he says that he will enter [New Mexico] with me, said governor and captain general, only to construct his house and irrigation ditch,



and after this is done he will return and enter with all of the above persons.

Captain Lazaro de Mizquia, married to Doña Maria Luzero de Godoy, with five children, three males and two females, named Alonso, thirteen years old, Domingo, eleven years old, Salvador, one year old, Leonor Rosa, fourteen years old, and Francisca, seven years old. Also Joseph, twelve years old, who is their nephew. And he says that he will enter [New Mexico] with the said governor alone, and that later he will return for his family.

The adjutant general of the kingdom, Diego Varela, married to Mariana Fresqui, with six children, three males and the other three females: Xptoval, fifteen years old, Juan, seven years old, Joseph, six years old, Antonia, twelve years old, Gregoria, eleven years old, Maria, five years old. And he has as servants, Maria and Antonio. And he also states that he has in his house two orphans named Juana and Maria. Also Maria, the wife of Juan Sanchez Cavello. And he says that he will enter [New Mexico] alone in order to build his house, and that after it is built he will return for his entire family, and will enter to settle in the said kingdom.

Captain Francisco Romero de Pedraza, married to Doña Francisca Ramirez de Salazar, with two children named Domingo, six years old, and Graciana, twelve years old. And he has as servant Juan, married to Maria, and the said servant has two children named Domingo, four years old, and Antonia, eight years old. He also states that he has another servant named Maria, thirteen years old. And he says that he is ready to enter [New Mexico] with his family whenever the said governor and captain general enters to colonize the said kingdom.

Serjeant Major Antonio Jorge, bachelor. He says that he is ready to enter [New Mexico] whenever I, said governor and captain general, enter.

Captain Luis Martin, married to Melchora de los Reies, with three sons and three daughters named Francisca Martin, twenty years old, Manuel, nine years old, Sebastian, six years old, Sebastianiana, twenty years old, Catalina, nine years old, and Polonia, three years old. And he states that as a loyal vassal of his Majesty he will enter [New Mexico] whenever I, said governor and captain general, enter to colonize the said kingdom.

Joseph Gallegos, married to Catalina Hurtado, states that he has five children named Antonio, five years old, Juan, seven

years old, Nicolas, five years old, Diego, three years old, and Juan, three years old. He says that with aid from me, said governor and captain general, he will gladly enter the said kingdom with his family.

Andres Hurtado, married to Antonia Dominguez. He says that as a loyal vassal of his Majesty he will enter and settle in New Mexico when I, said governor and captain general, enter.

Antonio Montaña, married to Ysabel Jorge de Vera, with seven children, four of whom are males, named Antonio, eight years old, Joseph, seven years old, Lucas, six years old, Manuel, three years old. Polonia, eleven years old, Maria, five years old, and Leonor, two years old. Also two servants, Juan and the Indian Joseph; a married woman, whose husband is absent, named Ysabel Luzero, with a daughter named Michaela, seven years old; also an Apache girl. He says that as a loyal vassal of his Majesty he is very willing to enter [New Mexico] whenever ordered to do so, but that for the present he will enter only to rebuild a house, and will return for his family later.

Captain Juan Luis, bachelor. He states that he has in his household two Indians named Magdalena and Clara, the latter eighteen years old; and the said Magdalena, thirty years old, has a son eight years old. He says that he is ready to enter [New Mexico] with open arms any day designated.

Sergeant Major Alonso Garcia, widower, states that he has five children named Juan Antonio, fifteen years old, Alonso, fourteen years old, Luis, ten years old, Vizente, five years old, and Juan, five years old. He states that he also has in his household Mary, thirty-five years old, and Lorenzo and Joseph; and that when I, said governor and captain general, enter [New Mexico] he will enter very gladly to build a house and will later return for his family.

Juan de Perea, married to Luisa de Tapia, with a son named Francisco, six years old. He also has in his household his mother-in-law, named Maria de Chaves, and her maid, named Maria Lopez, fifteen years old. Also in his house is his brother-in-law named Francisco, fourteen years old. He says that if the others go [to New Mexico] he will gladly go, provided that he is given the help necessary to make it possible.

Hernando Martin, married to Maria Montaña, with a daughter named Pasquala, fourteen years old. He says that he is very willing to enter and settle [in New Mexico] when I, said governor and captain general, enter.

Xptoval Martin, married to Antonia Moraga, with six children, four of whom are males, named Xptoval Martin, fourteen years old, Simon, eight years old, Miguel, five years old, Diego, four years old, and Juana, two years old. And he says that he is very willing to enter the said kingdom and settle there with his family whenever he is ordered to do so.

Juan de Rivera, married to Maria Garcia, with four children named Juan, seven years old, Maria, three years old, Juana Andreea, six years old, and Bernardina, five years old. He says that he is ready to enter and settle in New Mexico whenever his Honor enters the said kingdom.

Domingo de Herrera, married to Maria Martin, with six children, four of whom are males, named Marcos, seven years old, Francisco, nine years old, Juan, four years old, Mathias, two years old, Antonia, ten years old, and Josepha, eleven years old. And he says that he is willing to enter with his entire family to settle in New Mexico when I, said governor and captain general, enter.

Luis Martin, married to Maria de Vega, with three children, two of them girls, named Antonio, four years old, Josepha, eight years old, and Petronila, one year old. And he also has in his house a sister-in-law named Francisca de la Vega, and a boy named Pasqual, one year old. He says that he is willing to enter and settle in the kingdom of New Mexico whenever the entry is made.

Sevastian Martin, married to Maria Luxan, with a son named Martin, one year old. He says that he is willing to enter [New Mexico] with his family when I, said governor and captain general, enter.

Pasqual Covos de la Parra, married to Lucia del Castillo, with a son named Lucas, age twelve. He says that his wife is very ill, but that if she is well when the entry [into New Mexico] is made, he will enter very gladly.

Christoval Duran, bachelor, with his sister and her three children named Lorenzo, seven years old, Alejo, five years old, and Ana Maria, nine years old. He says that if he had sufficient provisions to enter [New Mexico] he would do so. He also has two brothers named Sevastian, thirteen years old, and Miguel, nine years old, and a sister named Maria, twelve years old.

Xptoval de la Serna states that he has with him his mother and seven brothers and sisters. His mother's name is Ysabel Luxan, widow, and his brothers and sisters are Francisco, twelve

years old, Antonio, five years old, Antonia, thirteen years old, Maria, ten years old, Gregoria, seven years old, and Cayetana, six years old. And he says that he is willing to enter New Mexico with his mother and his brothers and sisters whenever the colonizing expedition is ready to enter.

Bartholome Truxillo, widower, with two children named Lorenzo, three years old, and Sevastiana, thirteen years old. He says that he is willing to enter and settle in the said kingdom of New Mexico whenever I, said governor and captain general, enter.

Diego Duran, married to Juana de la Vega, with two children named Nicolas Duran, two years old, and Maria, four years old. He says that he is willing to enter and settle in the said kingdom of New Mexico when I, said governor and captain general, enter.

Agustin de Perea states that he has in his house his grandmother, named Francisca Garcia, and also Phelipe de Perea, Juana de Perea, and Ysabel de Perea, and the latter two are his sisters. His said sisters have four children named Francisco, twelve years old, Anttonio, eight years old, Theressa, twelve years old, and another child named Theressa, four years old. He says that he is willing to enter and settle [in New Mexico] whenever the said entry is made.

The above mentioned Joseph Tellez Xiron, of the fifth household listed in this census, stated that there are more persons under his charge to declare, saying that he had four orphans: Maria, five years old, Josepha, four years old, Ramon, also four years old, and Ysidro Joseph, two years old.

Catalina de Esparza, maiden lady, with three of her nephews named Juan, fifteen years old, Manuel, twelve years old, and Maria, seven years old. She also has six servants named Miguel, forty years old, Magdalena, thirty years old, Francisca, fifteen years old, Luissa, ten years old, Miguel, eight years old, and Maria Magdalena. She is willing to enter with all her family to settle in the said kingdom.

Tiburcio de Ortega, married to Margarita de Oton, with five children, four of whom are boys, named Antonio, age twelve years, Ysidro de Ortega, eight years old, Pablo, four years old, Gregorio, two years old, and Maria, thirteen years old. He also has three female Indian servants and one male servant named Luisa, Juana, Anastassia, and Phelipe. He says that as a loyal vassal of his Majesty he is very willing to do whatever is ordered of him, and that he will enter with his family to settle in the said kingdom.

Jacinto Sanchez Yñigo, married to Ysabel Jiron, with two children named Joseph, one year and a half old, and Juana, four years old, and a female servant. He says that with sufficient provisions with which to take his family he will enter and settle in the said kingdom of New Mexico.

Pedro Sanchez de Yñigo, married to Leonor Vaca. He says that he is willing to enter and settle in the said kingdom [of New Mexico].

Matheo Truxillo, married to Maria de Tapia, with six children and four step-children, [the former] named Augustin, twelve years old, Antonio, six years old, Francisco, two years old, Lucia, ten years old, Juana, five years old, and Juana de Truxillo, one year old; the step-children are named Diego Romero, twenty years old, Joseph Romero, fifteen years old, Antonio Romero, fifteen years old, Jacinto Romero, fourteen years old. He says that he is willing to enter with his family to settle in the said kingdom of New Mexico, as well as to carry out whatever else I, said governor and captain general, so order, as a loyal vassal of his Majesty, as he has always done. He has only one beast and says that with sufficient provisions he will take his wife and family, to which I answered that as for provisions nothing will be lacking for the execution of his journey at the said time.

Augustin Luxan, bachelor, says that when I, said governor and captain general, enter to colonize the said kingdom, he will go with me if he is given sufficient provisions.

Juan de Archuleta, married to Ysavel Gonzalez, with five children: Andres de Archuleta, ten years old, Diego, six years old, Maria, eight years old, Antonia, four years old, and Juana, six months old. He says that he is willing to enter the said kingdom of New Mexico and settle with his family when I, said governor and captain general, enter, if he is provided with that which is necessary.

Maestre de Campo Alonso Garcia, married to Doña Theresa Varela. He states that he has twelve servants: Juana, twenty years old, Bernardino and his wife named Josepha, Xptoval, Francisca Magdalena, Catalina, Maria, another Maria, another Maria, Juan, Antonio, and Catalina. He says that as a loyal vassal of his Majesty he is willing to enter and settle in the said kingdom of New Mexico, but that he finds himself without the means to take his family either on foot or on horse, although he is very willing to do so. I told him that I, said governor and captain general, would assist him in every way possible in the said matter.



Josepha de Fontes, widow of Diego Hurtado, states that she has two sons named Juan, fifteen years old, and Diego, six years old, and an Apache woman.

Doña Bernardina Truxillo, widow of Captain Andres Hurtado, with a daughter named Doña Mariana Salas Orozco, eighteen years old, and a step-daughter named Juana, with two daughters and a son, named Maria, fourteen years old, Bernardina, eight years old, and Joseph, four years old.

Diego Romero, bachelor. He has in his house three brothers and a sister, named Bernardo, ten years old, Xptoal, seven years old, and Ysavel, sixteen years old. He says that he will enter the provinces of New Mexico with his brothers and sister to settle there.

The widow Juana Garcia, with six children named Maria, twelve years old, Theresa, nine years old, Leonor, seven years old, Francisco, six years old, Antonio, seven years old, and Francisca, fifteen years old. She has five servants named Maria, thirty years old, with a two year old son named Miguel, and another named Antonio, six years old, Catalina, nine years old, and Juliana, five years old.

The widow Ana Maria Garcia, with five children named Manuel, twelve years old, Salvador, three years old, Maria, thirteen years old, Rufina, seven years old, and Juana, five years old.

The widow Josepha Duran, with three children named Joseph, four years old, Augustin, a babe in arms, Maria, five years old; also, a sister named Juana Duran, and brothers named Lazaro Duran and Bartolome Duran, the latter twenty years old. Also two servants named Xptoal and Maria, the latter twelve years old.

Juan de Herrera, with three [sic] children named Xptoal Maria, ten years old, Mathias, fifteen years old, Maria, six years old, and Juana, four years old.

Ynes de la Cruz, with three daughters named Ynes, thirty years old, Juana, twenty years old, and Maria, twenty-four years old. Also two orphans, Blas, four years old, and Getrudes, five years old, and another boy named Joseph, six years old.

Leonor Martin, widow, with two children, named Antonio, fifteen years old, and Juana de Ojeda, six years old.

Captain Don Fernando Duran y Chaves, married to Doña Lucia de Salazar, with nine children named Bernardino, sixteen years old, Pedro, fifteen, Antonio, fourteen, Ysabel, thirteen, Francisco, eleven, Luis, nine, Nicolas, six, Maria, four, and Cata-

lina, one. Also, a servant named Francisca, twenty-eight years old, and a child named Ventura, five years old.

Maria Romero, married to Pasqual Naranjo, absent, with two sons and a daughter named Juan, eighteen years old, Fabian, ten years old, and Francisca, six years old.

Manuel Gomez, married to Antonia Vrsola Duran, with seven children named Francisco, twelve years old, Joseph, twenty years old, Nicolas Lopez, his son-in-law, who is living in his house, married to his daughter Maria de la Rossa, Theresa, ten years old, and Josepha, eight years old.

*Real de San Lorenzo*

Personal visit made and census taken, and the list of the residents of this *real* of San Lorenzo, which is two short leagues from El Passo del Rio del Norte.

Maestre de Campo Luis Granillo, lieutenant governor and captain general, married to Doña Magdalena Varela de Losada, without children. He has three orphans: Maria, eighteen years old, Felipe, sixteen years old, and Juan, fifteen years old. Servants: Domingo, sixty years old, married to Catalina, forty years old, and their children Catalina, twenty years old, Maria, eighteen years old, and Agustin, fifteen years old; also, an Indian servant named Clara, thirty years old, Josepha, eight years old, Francisco, four years old, and Antonio, two years old; and another Indian named Margarita, eighteen years old. He says that he has served his Majesty faithfully for thirty-nine years, that he was never an *encomendero* in New Mexico, and that he is so poor that without help he cannot move his household. Heedful of the said answer, I, said governor and captain general, told him that it was the will and intention of his Excellency the viceroy, the Conde de Galve, by agreement of the gentlemen ministers of the Royal Junta de Hacienda, and the order issued, that I should take the families and residents living in the pueblo of El Paso and the settlements of the surrounding area, their transportation being assured; and that his Excellency the said viceroy offered, promised, and granted them the honors and privileges of colonizers, with which he would honor them, sending them the royal cédula of his Majesty and other dispatches in which his Greatness would clarify the matter, explaining the said honors and privileges, and granting land; also, that those wishing to go with the salary of presidials would be thus provided, and that those going with the aid granted to settlers will go in that capacity in the same manner, the matter being left to his decision,

and to me, said governor and captain general, in accordance with the said order and command to which I have referred.

Sergeant Major Francisco de Anaya Almazan, ordinary alcalde of first vote of the cabildo, married to Doña Phelipa Rico de Roxas, with three children, two males and one female: Salvador, ten years old, Antonio, eight years old, Maria, four years old. Also, an orphan named Maria, fifteen years old, a widowed sister of his named Doña Ynes de Anaya, her son named Joseph, twenty-one years old, her servant girl, and an Indian named Antonia. He says that he has been serving his Majesty for over forty years at his own expense, and that he never had an *encomienda*; that at the time of the general uprising in New Mexico he was on one of the frontiers as the leader of six men under his charge, and that upon hearing of the said uprising he was unwilling to abandon the said frontier; and that on the said occasion he lost his wife and children. He said that without help he cannot move his family because he is extremely destitute, to which I, said governor and captain general, answered that which is stated above with regard to the order and command of his Excellency the viceroy, Conde de Galve, to which I refer.

Sergeant Major Lorenzo Madrid, married to Doña Ana de Almazan, without children. He states that he has five servants named Luisa, thirty years old, Paula, nine years old, Eugenia, eight years old, Juan Francisco, eight years old, Xptoval, fourteen years old, and Pedro, a babe in arms. He says that he has been serving his Majesty in New Mexico and in these parts for forty-one years, having been an *encomendero* in the said kingdom, and that as a loyal vassal of his Majesty he is willing to enter and settle in the said kingdom if his Majesty gives him the necessary aid; that he will enter to build a house and will take his family later.

Captain Pedro Sedillo, widower, with two sons named Juan Rico de Roxas Sedillo, twenty-three years old, and Joachin Rico de Roxas, sixteen years old, the former being absent, having gone to *tierra firme*, and an Indian woman. He says that he needs much help before he can move to the said kingdom of New Mexico.

Captain Alonso del Rio, married to Doña Maria Gonzalez, with two orphans named Juliana, fifteen years old, and Nicolasa, twelve years old; also an Indian servant named Jacinta, another servant twelve years old, and Antonia, also a servant, thirteen years old. He says that he is willing to enter and settle in the

said kingdom if his Majesty grants him the necessary aid; that he will go to build his house, and will later return for his family. Also found in his house were his mother, named Doña Maria Madrid, with a maiden daughter, a child named Juan del Rio, twelve years old, a female servant thirty years old, a male servant named Xptoval, thirteen years old, Antonio, twelve years old, a girl named Magdalena, and another named Andres, eleven years old.

Sergeant Major Cristoval Tapia, married to Juana Valencia, without children. Found in his house were an orphan named Maria, twenty years old, another orphan named Juana Andrea, seven years old, a servant twenty years old, the mother of the aforesaid named Elena Ruiz, an orphan named Angela de Tapia, who is a widow with two sons named Bernardino, twenty years old, and Antonio, twenty-seven years old, a son [sic] Joseph, eighteen years old, an orphan named Domingo, and an Indian girl twelve years old. He says that he is willing and ready, as a loyal vassal of his Majesty, to serve God and the king, and that he will first enter with me, said governor and captain general, to build his house, and later enter with his family, provided he is given the necessary aid for that purpose.

Francisco Jurado, married to Doña Lucia Varela de Losada, with four sons and four daughters named Juan, twenty years old, Joseph, eighteen years old, Francisco, six years old, Antonio, four years old, Maria, twelve years old, Ysabel, ten years old, and Magdalena, eight years old. Also seven servants named Petrona, thirty years old, Margarita, eighteen years old, Maria, fourteen years old, Alonsso, thirteen years old, Antonia, twelve years old, Nicolas, nine years old, and Manuel, five years old. He says that he has served his Majesty in New Mexico and in these parts for twenty-six years and that he is ready to obey the orders of his Majesty, and that if he is given the assistance necessary to move his family he will enter and settle in the said kingdom.

Sergeant Major Sevastian Gonzalez, married to Josepha Rico de Roxas, with four sons and four daughters named Francisco Gonzalez, twenty years old, Augustin, sixteen years old, Sevastian Gonzalez, ten years old, Miguel Gonzalez, one year old, Antonia Gonzalez, fifteen years old, Maria Gonzalez, thirteen years old, Lucia, eight years old, and Francisca Gonzalez, three years old. Also four servants named Maria, thirty years old, Juan, nine years old, Josepha, four years old, and Miguel, twelve years old.



He says that he has been serving his Majesty for thirty years at his own expense, that he never has had an *encomienda*, and that his Majesty's will is his will. And he says that in order to move he needs all manner of help, for he lacks even a shirt.

Captain Juan del Rio, married to Ana de Moraga, with three sons and three daughters named Diego, twenty-five years old, Francisco, twenty-three years old, Joseph, twenty-two, Mary, twenty-four years old, another Mary, eighteen years old, and Antonia, fifteen years old. Also a servant girl named Diega, nine years old. He is willing to settle in the said kingdom provided that his Majesty supplies all the necessary assistance, and that for the present he will go alone to build his house, and will later return for his family.

Captain Pedro de Leiba, married to Maria de Nava, with two sons and three daughters named Diego, six years old, Juan, three years old, Maria, fifteen years old, Antonia, ten years old, and Maria Magdalena, one year old. Also a servant named Maria who has three children named Luis, eight years old, Juan Antonio, five years old, Caetano, one year old, and another servant named Antonio, ten years old. Also found in the said house were an unmarried niece thirty years old named Juana, with two children, Joseph, nine years old, and Juana, eight years old. He says that he is willing to enter and settle in the said kingdom if his Majesty provides him with all of the necessary assistance because he is poor and on foot, and that he has been in his service for twenty-five years without ever having received any favors.

Pedro Hidalgo, married to Ana Martin Griego, with two daughters and four sons named Nicolas, sixteen years old, Alonso, twelve years old, Xptoval, eleven years old, Francisco, eight years old, Maria, seven years old, Marta, four years old, and an orphan named Bernardina, five years old. Also six servants named Maria, forty years old, with two children, Antonio, fourteen years old, Josepha, twelve years old, Getrudis, nine years old, Bernardino, four years old, Salvador, nine years old, Ysabel, thirty years old. He is willing to enter and settle in the said kingdom, and to serve his Majesty as ordered, if he is provided with the necessary assistance. He says that he has served him [his Majesty] in the said kingdom and has participated in the *entradas* which have been made, at his own expense; that he will go in order to build his house and that his family will enter later if given assistance.

Captain Pedro Madrid, married to Yuimar [?] Varela, with



four sons named Domingo Lorenzo, fifteen years old, Antonio, twelve years old, Diego, ten years old, Joseph, eight years old, and two daughters named Juana Madrid, twenty years old, and Lucia, six years old. He says that he is a loyal vassal of his Majesty the king, our lord, and that he will enter and settle in the said kingdom with his family if given all the necessary assistance.

Bartolome Romero Pedraza, married to Doña Lucia Varela, with three children named Mathias, nine years old, Juana, three years old, and Maria, a babe in arms. He says that he is and always has been a loyal vassal of his Majesty, and that he is willing to go and settle in the said kingdom of New Mexico if given all the necessary assistance without which it would be impossible.

Alonso Maese, married to Catalina Montaña, with six sons and three daughters named Gabriel, twenty years old, Antonio, fifteen years old, Francisco, twelve years old, Nicolas, ten years old, Juan, six years old, Cayetano, three years old, Diego, five years old, Joseph, three years old, Josepha, twenty years old, Maria, fifteen years old, Anamaria, ten years old. He also has in his said house two sisters named Luisa, twenty years old, and Maria, eighteen years old. He says that he has served his Majesty at his own expense, and that he is in great need of assistance if he is to settle in the kingdom of New Mexico.

Juan Pacheco, married to Antonia de Alatia, with three children named Juan Antonio, twelve years old, Phelipe, nine years old, and Matias, seven years old. He says that as a loyal vassal of the king, our lord, he is willing to enter and settle in the said kingdom if provided with the necessary assistance.

Manuel Vaca, married to Maria de Salazar, with three sons and three daughters named Antonio, nine years old, Diego, one year old, Gregorio Vaca, three years old, Maria, thirteen years old, Josepha, seven years old, Bernardina, five years old. He says that he is willing and ready to fulfill his Majesty's orders if given the necessary assistance with which to enter and settle in the kingdom of New Mexico.

Xptoal Varela, married to Casilda de Gracia, with a son and a daughter named Geronimo, three years old, and Maria de la Rosa, a babe in arms, and two orphans named Antonio, thirteen years old, and Petrona, twelve years old. He says that he is willing and ready to carry out the orders of the king, our lord, but that he is in need of every assistance if he is to move, for he is on foot.

Antonio de Zisneros, bachelor, with his poor widowed mother whom he supports, named Ana Gutierrez, and a brother and four sisters named Francisco, thirteen years old, Magdalena, twenty years old, Ana Maria, fifteen years old, Catalina, twelve years old, and Geronima, sixteen years old. Also four orphans named Juan, three years old, Maria, twelve years old, Maria, four years old, and Augustina, a babe in arms. He says that he is willing to enter New Mexico with me, said governor and captain general, in order to build his house, and that later he will return for his family, if his Majesty provides him with the necessary assistance.

Augustin Luxan, married to Maria Cisneros, with four daughters and two sons [sic] named Juan, twelve years old, Maria, seven years old, Ana, five years old, Antonia, three years old, Francisco, sixteen years old, and Antonio, a babe in arms. He says that he will obediently enter with me, said governor and captain general, in order to build his house, and that he will take his family later, if provided with the necessary assistance.

Sevastian Gonzalez, bachelor, with his mother Polonia Varela, seventy years old, an orphan named Ynes, thirteen years old, and a servant named Antonia who has three children named Joseph, thirteen years old, Ventura, two years old, and Estefana, fifteen years old. He says that he will go to build his house [in New Mexico] when I go there, and that he will take his family later, if he is given all the necessary assistance.

Captain Francisco Lopez, married to Maria Moraga, without children. He has three orphans named Matias, a babe in arms, Maria, fifteen years old, and Maria, *natural*, without children. He says that he is an obedient vassal of his Majesty, and that he is in dire need of assistance if he is to settle in the said kingdom.

Juan Varela, married to Ysabel Rico de Roxas. He says that he is ready to enter and settle in the said kingdom if his Majesty grants all the assistance necessary.

Luis Maese, married to Josepha Montoya, with two sons and four daughters named Juan, thirteen years old, Xptoval, nine years old, Maria, sixteen years old, Francisca, seven years old, Rossa, nine years old, and Antonia, three years old. Also two orphans named Francisca, thirteen years old, and Felipa, nine years old. He says that he is a loyal vassal of his Majesty and that he will carry out the orders very willingly if he is provided with the necessary help, because at present he is destitute.

Juan Griego, bachelor, with two brothers and two sisters named Francisco, sixteen years old, Antonio, ten years old, Juana, twenty years old, and Maria, eighteen years old; also three orphans named Nicolas, one year old, Maria, three years old, and Josepha, four years old. He will willingly settle in the said kingdom when given the necessary assistance.

Juan Antonio, married to Maria Magdalena, without children. He has a brother-in-law named Thomas, fifteen years old. He says the same as the others, that if he is given all the necessary assistance he will go and settle in the said kingdom.

Captain Francisco Luzero de Godoy, married to Doña Josepha Zambrano, with eight children, two of them males, named Andres and Francisco, and the daughters named Beatriz, Juana Tomasa, Maria Magdalena, Antonia, Gregoria, and Francisca Josepha.

Doña Juana Almazan, widow, twenty-eight years old, with the following children: Alonso, twelve years old, Ygnacio Baca, eleven years old, Juan, ten years old, Luis Baca, four years old, Geronima Baca, four years old, Gregoria Baca, eight years old, Antonia Baca, seven years old, Maria Magdalena, six years old, Margarita, two years old; also Anamaria, her niece, fifteen years old. Servants: Antonio, thirty years old, Baltasar, six years old, Joseph, four years old, Pedro, six years old, Pasquala, forty years old, Francisca, twelve years old, Marzela, thirty years old, Antonia, twenty-five years old, Ysabel, fifteen years old, and Margarita, ten years old. She says that if she is given financial assistance with which to move her household she will enter and settle in the said kingdom.

Doña Lucia Xaramillo, widow, with two orphans, and they say that they will go wherever his Majesty orders them to go.

Maria Luxan, widow, with two sons: Francisco Luxan, twenty-four years old, and Luis Luxan, seventeen years old. They say that they will go wherever his Majesty the king, our lord, orders them to go.

Those listed above are found in the said houses visited. And the said residents listed told me, said governor and captain general, that the native Mexicans who also live in the said *real* and pueblo of San Lorenzo had accompanied and followed them since the uprising of the apostate Indians of the villa and capital of Santa Fe and the kingdom of New Mexico, and that in loyalty and obedience to the divine and human Majesties they have persevered with the hope of returning [to New Mexico] upon the re-

covery and restoration of the said kingdom to the Royal Crown, in order to settle and live there, accompanying them wherever they go. In view of the above justifiable request, and that it be of record in this census list, they were listed in the following manner.

*List of the native Mexicans who formerly lived in the Villa of Santa Fe in the company of the original Spanish residents who hail from there.*

Juan de Dios, married to Catalina, with a daughter four years old.

Augustin Brito, married to Fabiana, with a daughter named Pasquala, fourteen years old; also an orphan twelve years old.

Juan Bruselas, married to Juana Christina, with an orphan named Augustina de la Cruz, ten years old.

Pablo Archuleta, married to Leonor Griego, with a daughter named Juana Maria, twenty years old, and an orphan named Augustina, two years old.

Nicolas, widower, with two sons: Blas, thirteen years old, and Antonio, two years old.

Francisco Brito, married to Maria de la Concepcion, with four children: Nicolas, twelve years old, Joseph, four years old, Maria, three years old, and Augustin, a babe in arms.

Joseph Brito, married to Catalina.

Miguel Moran, married to Maria de Ortega, without children.

Domingo, married to Angelina, with four children: Felipe, twenty years old, Juliana, eighteen years old, Francisca, eight years old, and Antonio, a babe in arms.

Miguel de la Cruz, married to Juana de Archuleta, with an infant daughter; and in the same family Anamaria, a widow.

Xptoal de Apodaca, widower, with two children; Cayetana, seventeen years old, and Juan, ten years old.

Bernardina Ysabel, widow, with two daughters: Maria, eighteen years old, and Luisa, sixteen years old. Also two orphans, Augustin, four year old, and Antonio, two years old. And in the same family was found Joseph, twenty years old.

Clara Susana, with a daughter named Andrea, and three orphans: Francisco, twelve years old, Diego, ten years old, and Santiago, two years old.

Maria Brixida, with three children: Juan Joseph, seven years old, Anamaria, five years old, and Lucas, two years old. Also found in the said house was Melchora, eighteen years old.

Josepha de Ortego, with four children: Lazaro, twenty years

old, Angelina, sixteen years old, Magdalena, seven years old, and Diego Antonio, four years old.

Agueda Moran, with two children: Benito, twenty years old, and Juan Luis, three years old. Also Maria, her daughter-in-law, with two children: Maria, four years old, and Juan Moran, two years old.

Josepha de la Cruz, widow, with two children: Juana, twenty years old, and two orphans [sic].

Joseph, married to Juana, with four sons and daughters: Andrea, twenty-two years old, Francisca, fifteen years old, Cayetano, four years old, and Maria, a babe in arms.

Magdalena de Ogano, widow, with two children: Juana, twenty years old, and Maria, fifteen years old. Also an orphan named Pasquala, two years old, and Getrudes with a daughter five years old.

[Senecú]

Personal visit and census list of the residents of this pueblo of Senecú, three short leagues distant from El Paso del Rio del Norte.

Captain Joseph de Padilla, alcalde mayor and war captain of this said pueblo of Senecú, married to Maria Lopez, with ten children named Phelipe, nineteen years old, Juan Antonio, sixteen years old, Antonio, fourteen years old, Diego, twelve years old, Joseph, nine years old, Cayetano, seven years old, Joachin, three years old, Luis, a babe in arms, and two orphans named Josepha, fourteen years old, and Juan de Dios, nine years old. Servants named: Diego, thirty years old, Antonio, twenty-four years old, Domingo, fifteen years old, Xptoval, sixteen years old, Gabriel, thirteen years old, Alonso, eleven years old, Diego, ten years old, Joseph Antonio, ten years old, Augustin, eight years old, Nicolas, seven years old, Juan six years old, Juanillo, thirty years old, Maria, thirty-five years old, another Maria, twenty-six years old, Juana, forty years old, Lucia, forty years old, Maria, ten years old, Antonia, ten years old, Getrudes, nine years old, Ana, ten years old, Dorotea, fourteen years old. He says that he has been twenty years in the kingdom as a loyal vassal of his Majesty, and that he has always carried out what has been ordered of him without receiving favors from his Majesty; and that if his Majesty provides him with the assistance that will enable him to move his family, he will go [to New Mexico] first to build his house there, at the place which I, said governor and



captain general, designate, and then he will take his said family there.

Lazaro de Moraga, married to Augustina de los Reyes, with six children named Joseph Antonio, a babe in arms, Maria, twenty years old, Francisca, twenty years old, Antonia, seven years old, Estefana, three years old, Juana, two years old. Also living in his house are his father-in-law and mother-in-law, and a brother-in-law and a sister-in-law. [The father-in-law's name is] Cristobal, the mother-in-law's name is Ysabel, and the brother- and sister-in-law are named Xptoval and Ana. The latter have ten children named Juan de la Crux, sixteen years old, Francisco, fourteen years old, Sevastian, nine years old, Domingo, eight years old, Esteban, six years old, Xptoval, three years old, Bartolome, one year old, Francisca, ten years old, Maria, four years old, and Graciana, three years old. Also three nieces and nephews of his father-in-law, Angelina, twenty years old, Esteban, six years old, Ventura, five years old, Maria, thirty years old, Diego, twenty-five years old, and two children of the aforesaid [sic], Augustina, twenty years old, and Antonia, two years old.

#### *Ysleta*

Personal visit and census list of the residents of this pueblo of Ysleta, four leagues distant from El Passo del Rio del Norte.

Captain Diego de Luna, married with Elvira Garcia, with two sons named Antonio, fifteen years old, and Nicolas, five years old, a daughter named Gregoria, twenty-four years old, and two servants named Juan, forty years old, and Juan Antonio, ten years old. Also six other servants named Franzisca, thirty years old, Juan, four years old, Thomassa, thirty years old, Maria, ten years old, Juana, five years old, Josepha, one year old, and the mother of the said Captain Diego de Luna, named Maria Jaramillo. He says that as a loyal vassal of his Majesty he is willing and ready to carry out whatever is ordered of him, but that he cannot enter and settle in the said kingdom in the month of April because it is too soon; however, if his Majesty gives him the necessary assistance he will enter and settle in the said kingdom. He says that he will enter alone to build his house and that later he will bring his family.

Francisco de Apodaca, married to Maria Lopez, without children.

Mathias Luxan, married to Francisca Romero, with nine children named Felipe, eleven years old, Juan, six years old, Pas-

qual, five years old, Miguel, two years old, Catalina, eighteen years old, Antonia, sixteen years old, Maria, thirteen years old, Juana, eight years old, and Manuela, one year old. He says that as a loyal vassal of his Majesty he will settle in the said kingdom when I, said governor and captain general, enter.

Domingo Martin, married to Josepha de Herrera, with eight children named Diego, twenty-two years old, Mathias, sixteen years old, Miguel, nine years old, Blas, six years old, Sebastiana, thirteen years old, Maria, twelve years old, Juana, four years old, Barbara, a babe in arms. He says that as a loyal vassal of his Majesty he will go and settle [in New Mexico] with his family if the necessary provisions are forthcoming. Also his mother-in-law named Juana de los Reies.

Francisco Romero, married to Juana Garcia, with five children named Joseph, twelve years old, Pablo, ten years old, Mathias, one year old, Theodora, three years old, and Petrona, two years old. He says that he will enter and settle in the said kingdom as a loyal vassal of his Majesty.

Luisa Garcia, with two daughters named Antonia, ten years old, and Felipa, twelve years old.

Pasqual Truxillo, married to Antonia Duran, without children. Also living in the said house are his aunt named Ana de Sandoval y Manzanares, her niece named Gregoria Truxillo with a daughter named Pasquala de Soto, and two sisters, one named Sevastiana de Sandoval y Manzanares, and the other Antonia de Sandoval y Manzanares, the latter with a daughter named Phe-lipa de Sandoval. Also the said sister Antonia has a son named Juan, twelve years old. Also noted were the children whom the said Ana de Sandoval later declared to be hers, three children named Feliciano de la Candelaria, sixteen years old, Francisco, twenty years old, Maria de la Rossa, fourteen years old. Also an orphan she has raised named Santiago, four years old. They say that they are loyal vassals of his Majesty and that they will go to settle in the said kingdom if they are given the assistance which will enable them to go.

Juan Truxillo, widower, with five children named Diego, fifteen years old, Antonio, eight years old, Manuel, six years old, Maria, twelve years old, Catalina, eleven years old, and a sister of the aforesaid named Antonia, thirteen years old, who has a daughter named Catalina. He says that he will enter and settle in the said kingdom with assistance from his Majesty.

Augustin de Salazar, married to Phelipa de Gamboa, with

two sons named Antonio, four years old, and Miguel, two years old. Also found living in the said house were his mother-in-law, named Lucia Martin, with an unmarried daughter named Petrona Dominguez, sixteen years old. He says that if he is given the necessary assistance with which to settle in the said kingdom, he will go there with his family.

Antonio Duran, bachelor, twenty-six years old. Also living in his home are his mother, Ysabel Duran, with three children named Manuel, nine years old, Ana Maria, fourteen years old, Juana, twelve years old, and a servant thirty-five years old with a son named Juan Antonio, four years old. Also living in his house is a niece named Francisca with four children: Pedro, five years old, Miguel, a babe in arms, Maria, thirteen years old, and Lucia, four years old. He says that he will go and settle in the said kingdom with his family.

The widow Ynes de Herrera, with three children named Carlos, seven years old, Joseph, four years old, and Getrudes, twelve years old. Also found in her house was her mother, Luisa de Herrera. She says that she will go gladly to settle in the said kingdom [of New Mexico].

Francisca de Abrego, widow, with an Indian woman named Juana Martin, [the latter] with three children named Antonio, twenty years old, Juan de Dios, nine years old, Maria, eighteen years old, and an orphan named Juana de Ojeda, eight years old.

Diego Truxillo, married to Catalina Griega, without children.

Ana de Abrego, with two nephews named Antonio, eleven years old, and Nicolas, eight years old.

Doña Ana Moreno de Lara, married to Xptoval Vaca, five years absent from these parts, now residing in Pasaxe with two daughters, who live with him, named Juana, eighteen years old, and Luisa, seventeen years old. She also said that she had two sons absent, one named Francisco, who is married and lives at the mines of Cusiguriache, and the other named Pedro Vaca, also married, and living at the *real* of Parral. Also she was found to have in her house two orphans named Pedro, five years old, and Elena, twelve years old. Also she showed me a grand-daughter named Josepha, five years old.

Ana Maria Montoya, widow, with two children named Matheo, thirteen years old, and Antonia, fifteen years old, and five orphans: Martina, twenty years old, Juana, eighteen years old, Felipa, seven years old, and Rossa, seven years old. She says that she will enter and settle in the said kingdom.

*Socorro*

Personal visit made and census list taken of the residents of this pueblo of Socorro, five somewhat short leagues distant from El Paso del Rio del Norte.

Captain Juan de Valencia, married to Juana Madrid, with six children in her house at present, named Antonio, eighteen years old, Miguel, twelve years old, Antonio, eight years old, Joseph, one year old, Maria, twenty-one years old, Maria Rosa, seven years old. Also thirty-two servants: Juan, fifty years old, married to Ysabel, with four children named Maria Magdalena, twelve years old, Baltasar, four years old, Josefa, eight years old, and Catalina, four years old; Juan Jiron, forty years old, [married] to Francisca, with three children named Mateo, fifteen years old, Rosa, seven years old, and Luis, two years old; Luis, married to Pasquala, with a son named Juan Antonio, twelve years old; Antonio, married to Juana, with two married children, Miguel, eleven years old, and Antonia, nine years old [In the margin of the document a hand is drawn with the index finger pointing to the preceding entry.]; Joan Tobar, married to Lucia, with two daughters named Lucia, three years old, and Magdalena, one year old; Domingo, married to Magdalena, age thirty; Bernardo, married to Maria, twenty years old, without children; Pedro, married to Juana, age twenty; Teresa, unmarried, thirty-six years old, with a daughter named Pasquala, ten years old; Juana, sixteen years old, and Antonia, fifteen years old. He says that as a loyal vassal of his Majesty he will settle in the said kingdom of New Mexico if given the assistance which will enable him to move his household, for it is very large and he is too poor to do so without aid.

Alonso Rodriguez, married to Juana de Valenzia, with five children named Carlos, twenty years old, Antonio, seven years old, Phelipa, two years old, Michaels, seven years old, Juana, four years old; also, Sevastiana, thirty years old, his wife's aunt. He says that as a loyal vassal of his Majesty he is ready to carry out whatever is ordered of him, provided he is given financial assistance, for he lacks even a single beast.

Xptoval Truxillo, married to Maria de Manzanares, with two children named Melchor, thirteen years old, and Michael, twelve years old; also, an orphan named Lorenzo, two years old. He says that he is willing and ready to go and settle in the said kingdom.

Juana de Arguello, widow, with five children named Antonio,

eighteen years old, Francisco, ten years old, Miguel, five years old, Michaela, fourteen years old, Josepha, twelve years old.

Maria Martin, married to Antonio Bejarano, absent, with five [sic] children: Simon, twelve years old, Maria, eight years old, Michael, one year old, and Josepha, three years old.

Maria Lopez, married to Salvador Romero, absent, with two sons named Diego, eight years old, and Joseph, six years old.

Juana de Leyba, with seven children named Antonio, twenty-five years old, Phelipe, twenty years old, and Diego, fifteen years old, all of whom are absent, and Sixto, eight years old, Maria, fifteen years old, Micaela, twelve years old, and Magdalena, nine years old.

Juan de la Paz, married to Pasquala de Archuleta, with four children named Thomas, twelve years old, Antonia, thirteen years old, Juana, eight years old, Estefania, two years old. Also found in his house is Ana de la Cruz, whom he said was his mother-in-law. He says that he is willing to settle in the said kingdom.

Thomas de la Cruz, married to Maria Gomez, with five daughters and one son named Anastasia, sixteen years old, Maria Magdalena, fifteen years old, Sebastiana, nine years old, Francisca, five years old, Ysabel, four years old, Manuel, one year old; also in his house, his brother Bartolome, bachelor, forty years old, and a nephew of the aforesaid named Joseph, fifteen years old.

Matias Francisco, married to Maria Gomez, with a child named Pedro, eight years ago. He says that he will go and settle in the said kingdom.

Juan de Archuleta, married to the Maria de la Cruz, with five children named Nicolas, ten years old, Catalina, eight years old, Nicolas, five years old, Maria, four years old, Antonio, one year old; a sister of the aforesaid named Juana, thirty years old, and the latter has four children named Diego, eight years old, Francisca, thirteen years old, Michael, seven years old, and Rossa, two years old.

Tomas, married to Vrsola Gomez, with four children named Marcos, twelve years old, Antonio, eight years old, Mateo, eight years old, Simon, a babe in arms.

Sevastiana, widow, with four children named Phelipe, twenty years old, Francisco, twelve years old, Joseph, two years old, Feliciana, a babe in arms.

Antonio, married to Magdalena, with one child named Ysidro, twelve years old.



Maria de Tapia, with four children named Alexo, fifteen years old, Lucia, thirteen years old, Maria, twelve years old, and Juana, ten years old. She says that she will go and settle in the said kingdom [of New Mexico].

*General résumé of the said personal visit made and census taken, with the list of all the houses of the five pueblos:*

According to the census list they number one hundred and twelve, and in them live seventy-three married couples, one hundred and fifteen widows, bachelors, and unmarried women, and four hundred and forty-eight boys and girls, the children of the above, of all ages. Also found living in the said houses were two hundred and fifty persons of all ages serving as domestics, whom they [their masters] have raised and continue to raise, and whom they designate as servants, as is of record in the said census with regard to the houses where they are found.

And in order that the said personal visit made, and census taken, with the said list, may be brought to the attention of his Excellency the viceroy, the Conde de Galve, I hereby send it to him, with a letter of transmittal to his Excellency, for which purpose I order my secretary of government and war to transcribe the testimony to the letter, so that upon seeing it, his Greatness may decide what is best.

And that the said visit and this said *auto* may be of record, I signed with my secretary of government and war. Done in this pueblo of El Passo del Rio del Norte, on the second day of January, the year sixteen hundred and ninety-three.

Don Diego de Vargas Zapata Lujan Ponze de Leon. Before me, Alphonso Rael de Aguilar, secretary of government and war.

TRANSLATED BY J. MANUEL ESPINOSA

Institute of Jesuit History  
Loyola University, Chicago

## Notes and Comment

Note must be made of the recently published *Guide to the Material in the National Archives*, (United States Government Printing Office, Washington, 1940, pp. 303). This is a very good direction finder to 320,000 linear feet of documentary materials in our National Archives, giving as it does very satisfactory descriptions of the many blocks of records of the Federal Government. It is the result of two and a half years of labor on the part of the corps in the Archives, who have organized, inventoried, classified, and catalogued the materials received to January 1, 1940. The earlier *Reports of the Archivist* are hereby superseded, but future annual and quarterly *Reports* are promised for supplementation of the present book. The compilers offer apologies because the work lacks definiteness and is incomplete as to descriptions of the materials, but we must ignore the apologies in the presence of this adequate guide. A brief description of each agency and department of the Government precedes that of the materials grouped under the heading. An introduction gives ample information about how the records may be used or obtained in photograph, photostat, or microfilm. The indexing, general and particular, is excellently done to facilitate the finding of materials.

*Papers in Illinois History*, 1939, edited by Paul M. Angle, and published by the Illinois State Historical Society in 1940, contains for the most part papers read at the annual meeting of the society in May at Quincy. Among the papers we find "Floating Namesakes of the Sucker State," by William J. Peterson, a history from time immemorial of steamboat names gracing the colorful paddle-wheelers of the upper Mississippi. Quite a bit of steamboat lore is incorporated and indications are given of a great amount of research on boats, navigation, transportation, and excursioning. "Frances Willard as an Illinois Teacher," by Mary Earhart Dillon, gives in short but pertinent biographical outline, the result of long research on one of the three ladies who have this year been honored in the Famous American series of United States postage stamps. The longest of the papers is "Illinois and Her Indians," by Grant Foreman, a survey of the relations between the Indian tribes and British, federal, and local agencies, their land troubles and transfers. Other articles, the transactions of the society, and the index complete the 179 pages of the volume.

Anyone desirous of learning what went on in the merchandise marts of St. Louis between the years 1810 and 1820 will find plentiful information in a scholarly work by Sister Marietta Jennings entitled *A Pioneer Merchant in St. Louis* and published by Columbia University Press. The merchant was Christian Wilt; his partner was Joseph Hertzog. Sister Marietta makes a notable contribution to the already

vast amount of writing on fur trade and to the lead business and trade in the Ohio Valley.

Under the direction of Concha Romero James, chief of the Division of Intellectual Cooperation of the Pan American Union there appeared in 95 mimeographed pages *Latin American Studies in American Institutions of Higher Learning* for the academic year 1938-1939. This list of universities and professors offering courses on the history and culture of our "good neighbors" to the south is indeed imposing and is indicative of the great strides made during the past ten years toward developing understanding between the republics of the Western Hemisphere. Thousands of students are now working in the field plowed by the B historians—Bancroft, Bourne, Bandelier, Bolton. Old legends of backward Spain are disappearing under the microscopic scrutiny of hundreds of researchers and professors. The problems of World War II arising of necessity out of our economic interest in the nether half of the hemisphere are now being brought sharply to the attention of all Americans. Spanish, Portuguese, and the Brazilian-Portuguese languages are coming in for a great amount of study by lay folk and students. All this manifests a growing desire to know more about the land and the peoples, and when curiosity has given way to understanding the ideal of the good neighbor policy may be closely approximated.

Mariano Cuevas, S. J., in his *Historia de la Nación Mexicana*, Mexico, 1940, has written a detailed, very readable semi-popular history of Mexican civilization in all its various aspects. The author indicates that he is abreast of the latest scholarship in the field, and the work is of special value to the historian for its fresh viewpoints and synthetic treatment. It is a single volume work divided into three major parts: The pre-Hispanic Period, Discovery and Spanish Domination in Mexico, and Mexico Since Independence. The story is carried through the administration of Porfirio Díaz. In the prologue Cuevas describes the purpose of the work as follows: "... A happy medium, not for scholars, but for average educated men ... has been our modest aim ... to fill an urgent and general need for many educated persons who wish to know the history of Mexico. They have nothing to satisfy so laudable a desire, other than more or less superficial school textbooks ... or else they are referred to hundreds of monographs, good but disconnected, or to certain unreadable works in many volumes." The dimensions of the present tome are 8" x 11¼", and it is two inches thick. It contains 1,027 pages printed in double columns, and is profusely illustrated. The documentation, with citations and notes, Cuevas promises in the near future in a separate collection of documents to be entitled *Oro Viejo*.

Father Guillermo Furlong, S. J., continues his investigations on

the cultural contribution of the Jesuits in the La Plata region. Since many of his publications have gone virtually unnoticed in this country, a list is given here of some of his more important works of the past fifteen years.

**Scholarly Works.**—Books: *Glorias Santafesinas: Buenaventura Suárez, Francisco Javier Iturri, Cristóbal Altamirano. Estudios bibliográficos*, Buenos Aires, 1929; ed., *Diario del viaje y misión al río del Sauce realizado en 1748*, Buenos Aires, 1933; *Los Jesuitas y la Cultura Rioplatense*, Montevideo, 1933; ed., *Florian Baucke: Iconografía colonial rioplatense, 1749-1767; costumbres y trajes de españoles, criollos e indios*, Buenos Aires, 1935; *Cartografía jesuítica del Río de la Plata*, 2 vols., Publicaciones del Instituto de investigaciones históricas, Universidad Nacional, Buenos Aires, 1936; ed., *Los indios pampas, puelches, patagones, según José Sánchez Labrador, S. J.*, Buenos Aires, 1936; *Bio-Bibliografía del Dean Funes*, Imprenta de la Universidad, Córdoba, 1939.

**Articles:** "Las bibliotecas jesuíticas en las reducciones del Paraguay y del Chaco," *Estudios*, Buenos Aires, 1925; "La personalidad y la obra de Tomás Falkner," Pub. del Instituto de investigaciones históricas, Univ. Nac., No. XLVIII, Buenos Aires, 1929; "El Padre José Quiroga," *ibid.*, No. LIV, 1930; "Domingo Muriel," *ibid.*, No. LXIV, 1934; "Alonso Barzana, S. J., Apóstol de la América Meridional," *Estudios*, B. A., 1933-1934; "Nuestra literatura católica colonial y pre-moderna," *ibid.*, 1939.

**Semi-Popular Works.**—Books based on early Jesuit relations: *Entre los Abipones del Chaco, Entre los Mocobies de Santa Fé, and Entre las Pampas de Buenos Aires*, published in Buenos Aires, 1938; *Entre los Vilelas de Salta*, Buenos Aires, 1939.

Juan Faustino Sallaberry, S. J., has just published a revised and enlarged edition of his book *Los Jesuitas en Uruguay, Tercera Epoca, 1872-1940*, Montevideo, 1940, pp. 208. Father Sallaberry, a native Uruguayan, has, through his many important published works, attained general recognition as the leading historian of the Jesuits of Uruguay. The present volume relates in detail all of the various activities of the Jesuits in Uruguay during the period designated in the title, a period of remarkable growth and influence. A very useful appendix contains a complete catalogue of all the Jesuits who have served in Uruguay during the period, each name accompanied by a biographical sketch.

## Book Reviews

*A History of Chicago: Vol. II. From Town to City, 1848-1871.* By Bessie Louise Pierce. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1940. Pp. xiii, 547, xxxiii.

The second volume of Miss Pierce's elaborate *History of Chicago* ranges through two decades which are a good deal of an organic whole in the story of that great center of population, covering as they do its transition from a town to an urban economy, its advance from the status of an overgrown village to that of the recognized metropolis of the imperial sweep of territory flanked by the Alleghanies and the Rockies. Chronologically, the decades are framed within two dates of dramatic import, 1848, which saw Chicago's first railroad, and 1871, which saw its entire business section and much of its residential quarters disappear in ashes in one of the greatest conflagrations of history.

History can be loosely written: it can show unconcern, deliberate or otherwise, for the accepted conventionalities in method which insure or help to insure scholarliness of treatment, accuracy of result. No such delinquency is chargeable to the present work. It measures up to the standards of history-writing of the most reputable and scientific sort, and supplants in authoritativeness all other treatments of the subject. The story it presents is based, not on the easy gossip, the hazy recollections of "old settlers," but on the firm foundation of authentic first-hand documentary evidence. The use made of newspapers is outstanding. Von Holst and McMaster broke new ground in historiography when they turned to the newspaper as a legitimate source of historical data. Miss Pierce follows in their footsteps. Probably the bulk of the vast quantity of factual items she and her collaborators have assembled are drawn from the contemporary Chicago press. Obviously unremitting critical caution and care are required in the historian who gathers material from so ephemeral and often irresponsible a medium of information as the public press; but due allowance being made for its limitations as an historical source, the contemporary press remains an invaluable and practically indispensable aid to the writer who attempts to recover past actualities in the American scene and portray them to the life. Certainly, the value as a more or less accurately reflecting mirror of the cross currents of public opinion on issues of the day, of the contemporary press to the historian is indubitable. In the use for such purpose of the entire gamut of the Chicago papers of the 'fifties and 'sixties the author of this work is particularly happy.

A record of the type of the present one is not one of local significance only. Chicago history during the period 1848-1871 is a fairly



representative cross-section of the play of forces political, economic, social, and cultural, that were operating during the same years in the country at large and with similar results. An instance in point is Miss Pierce's admirable treatment of the Civil War years and the approach to them as these were experienced in Chicago. Here on this restricted stage the same rifts in public opinion on the burning issues of the day were in evidence, the same reactions of social and religious groups to politics took place, the same political battles were fought out as could be witnessed in other sections of the country. Incidentally, it may be noted that the recent presidential campaign, deplored by many for the bitterness injected into it, appears to have been a love-feast compared to the incredibly rancorous party clashes occasioned by the slavery question. In this connection it may be pointed out that the author's reference to Douglas's Kansas-Nebraska bill leaves a little to be desired (pp. 205-208). Nowhere is it mentioned that the "Little Giant's" advocacy of his famous measure was motivated by the desire, not to curry favor with the South, as was contended by his enemies, but to promote the opening and settlement of the trans-Missouri West through the building of railroads. This fact, as established by the researches of the late Professor Hodder of Kansas State University, is now an admitted one among serious students of the subject.

Data on the Catholic Church which occur in the volume are recorded with accuracy. Only an exceptional slip or omission in this connection came under the reviewer's notice. Bishop Van de Velde's differences with some of his clergy was only one of several circumstances that led to his resignation, the major consideration determining the step being one of health (p. 360). Mention of the Catholic Institute and its impressive group of lecturers might have found place in the paragraphs (pp. 401-402) devoted to the contribution made by the lecture to Chicago cultural life.

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN

Institute of Jesuit History

*Red Carolinians.* By Chapman J. Milling. The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1940. Pp. xxi, 438.

Altogether too little has been written concerning the smaller tribes of Indians which once inhabited America. If others, in neglected regions, would produce such volumes as Dr. Milling has in *Red Carolinians*, a more rounded concept of tribal America and a better understanding of the conflicts between the white and the red races would be soon available.

The introductory chapter treats in general of the ethnology of the various tribes inhabiting the region under discussion, before they were corrupted by the white settlers. The Red man was "in about the

same stage of cultural advancement as the Britons at the time of the Roman conquest," and, it is pointed out, they were misunderstood because they did not conduct themselves as the whites did. In succeeding chapters there is as complete a history as possible of several comparatively unknown tribes, namely the Cusabo, the Cofitachiqui, the Westo, the Savannah, the Yamassee, the Tuscarora, the Apalachee, the Catawba, and smaller tribes of Carolina. Separate accounts of each group are given, from the time of the first white explorers to the gradual dying out or dispersion of the tribes. Of importance in the study of these Indians are their relations with the early settlers and traders and the attempts of officials to put them under white man's law. Some government agents were kind toward the Indians and promoted their welfare; others were harsh and cruel in their dealings with them. The author writes of both types, indiscriminately giving praise or blame where it is due. In addition to the often friendly relationships, the various wars, intertribal and inter-racial are discussed in detail and the resultant movements of the tribes recorded.

Over one hundred pages are devoted to that best known tribe of the Southeast, the Cherokee, the most civilized of all the tribes of the region, which had developed a comparatively high culture at the time of its removal. Of all the black marks against the government of the United States in its dealings with the Indians, the treatment of the Cherokee during removal proceedings is, perhaps, the blackest. Dr. Milling does not enlarge upon this important episode for, as he states, many good accounts have already appeared, but he does present an outline which serves to stimulate interest in the more detailed histories to which he refers.

From the wealth of archival material in the South Carolina Historical Commission the author has drawn much of his source information. The Indian Books, the Journals of the Assembly, and other public records have been utilized and new facts are presented which aid in piecing together the story of the contact of the Indians with provincial South Carolina. Interviews with living members of some of the tribes discussed add color to the narrative and give evidence of the author's industry. Of the printed sources, Dr. Milling has drawn freely from the travelers' accounts, such as those of James Adair, John Lawson, William Bartram, and Henry Timberlake. The impressive bibliography covers sixteen and a half pages; it includes practically everything of value published on the subject and will prove very helpful to the student of the Southeastern tribes. The thirty-six page index also adds to the general usefulness of the volume.

Here, as in other books of late years, the Indian is treated sympathetically. This book will easily engross the layman, for it is entertainingly written and authoritative. The student will welcome it, for it brings together a wealth of scattered information. The author has accomplished his chief aim "to trace the history of all the tribes once

inhabiting a given commonwealth." It is to be hoped that he has set a precedent which others will follow.

BARBARA BOSTON

The Newberry Library

*The Articles of Confederation.* By Merrill Jensen. University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, Wisconsin, 1940. Pp. vi, 284.

The author of this study, which has as an explanatory sub-title, "An Interpretation of the Social-Constitutional History of the American Revolution, 1774-1781," did not intend to be a history of the American Revolution. Hence, there is nothing included relative to the campaigns of the war. Instead, this book presents an account of the forces responsible for our first constitution, adopted in 1781.

Since this first constitution operated for only eight years, American historians have had a tendency to consider it a fundamentally weak organ of government. Professor Jensen maintains, in effect, that historians have uncritically accepted the Federalist condemnation of the Articles of Confederation without stopping to realize that "... the Federalist Party was organized to destroy a constitution embodying ideals of self-government and economic practice that were naturally abhorrent to those elements in American society of which that party was the political expression" (p. 3). Hence, it is argued, the non-democratic Federalists not only had no faith in the democracy envisaged by the Articles of Confederation, but wished so to malign that instrument of government as to make it appear that those who destroyed it, saved the country by their actions. Instead of accepting this point of view, the author, in studying the Articles, has taken into consideration the disturbances in the various states at the time, individual and group interests, social cleavages, and interstate conflicts. A full understanding of such problems is considered essential for a realization of the type of government necessary for that era.

The first chapters deal in documentary detail with the general fear of the conservative classes that democratic control might result in separation from England. In most of the colonies it was evident, even as late as 1775 and in the early part of 1776, that the aristocracy regarded themselves as Englishmen and feared hostile legislation if independence would be granted the colonies. Hence, as late as "... May 15, 1776, the Maryland convention instructed its delegation in Congress to oppose any declaration of independence and reiterated its belief in the desirability of the British connection" (p. 21). Likewise, "In June 1776, James Iredell [of North Carolina] wrote a pamphlet in which he urged that a just and constitutional connection with Britain 'in spite of every provocation, would be the happier for America, for a considerable time to come, than absolute independence'" (p. 27).

The chapter entitled "The Problem of Union" admirably presents the complex difficulties facing the jealous colonies. The very fact that the Revolution itself was a revolt against centralization of political authority, made it unwise and illogical for the framers of that first constitution to attempt the formation of a strong central government. The problems of deciding the method of voting in Congress, the bases of representation and of taxation, the control of the West, and many other acute problems had to be met and solved, often by compromises. Eventually each of the thirteen states was to emerge as an independent and sovereign member of the federal government, and unquestionably retained that status until at least 1789.

The difficulties of ratification, extending over three and one-half years, are dealt with in detail. It was made evident to all that the Articles of Confederation were intended to prevent the central government from infringing on the rights of the states and on the democracy within those states. The radicals had temporarily triumphed in preventing the conservatives from organizing a strong national government, which could interfere with the democracy within the states.

The chapters are well documented with eighteenth-century sources. A good index is provided. The volume is challenging and provocative, and represents a real contribution to the historical literature of the period.

PAUL KINIERY

Loyola University, Chicago

*Pioneer Black Robes on the West Coast.* By Peter Masten Dunne, S. J., Ph. D. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1940. Pp. xiii, 286. Maps and Illustrations.

In 1934 the United States Catholic Historical Society published Dr. W. Eugene Shiels's *Gonzalo de Tapia*. Four years later Dr. Jerome V. Jacobsen's admirable study, *Educational Foundations of the Jesuits in New Spain*, was published by the University of California Press. This was the first in a series of studies to be devoted to the work of the Jesuits in New Spain. Dr. Dunne's book is the second in this series, and others are promised. All are a product of that school of history which has received its inspiration from Herbert E. Bolton.

Dr. Dunne carries on from where Dr. Shiels left off. The first five chapters of *Pioneer Black Robes on the West Coast* contains a setting for the following sixteen chapters which are concerned with the labors of Father Tapia's immediate successors. And the story is a grand one. As Professor Bolton writes, "the author has brought forth from comparative obscurity a galaxy of notable pioneers, great figures in their time but neglected by modern historians. . . ." These figures—to mention just a few—were Fathers Andrés Pérez de Ribas, Pedro de Méndez, Hernando de Villafañe, Cristóbal de Villalta, Juan Bau-



tista de Velasco, Julio Pascual, Manuel Martínez, and the remarkable frontier captain Diego Martínez de Hurdaide, "the defender of the Faith."

Dr. Dunne's narrative does not proceed along strict chronological lines. The time element is not permitted to interfere with his determination to relate the beginnings of recorded missionary history in the valleys of the Sinaloa, Fuerte, Mayo and Yaqui. Spanish successes in these valleys were assured upon the arrival of Captain Hurdaide at San Felipe (Sinaloa) in January 1595. For thirty years thereafter the Indians came to respect this stern but pious man. *Hechiceros* or medicine men had at last found their match in "El Capitán." Hurdaide made it possible for Fathers Ribas, Méndez, and Villalta to plant the cross on the banks of the Fuerte among the Ahomes, Suaquis, Tehuecos, and Sinaloas in 1605. Ten years later the religious zeal of the padres carried the banner of Christ to the Indians of the Mayo, and by 1625 substantial beginnings had been made in the Yaqui country and among the Opatas. A school for native children had been established at San Felipe, and Hurdaide had, in 1610, founded the famous fort of Montesclaros among the Tehuecos. The story is brought to a close with the death of Hurdaide in 1624 and the martyrdom of Pascual and Martínez at Chínipas in 1632.

Dr. Dunne's book is more than a sympathetic account of these seventeenth-century sons of Loyola. It is also a careful study of Spanish Indian policy, frontier administration, and historical geography. All this speaks well for the author's mastery of his materials and the locale of his story.

The book shows care in preparation. No error of fact has been detected. Two maps and a dozen illustrations add to the merit of the book, as do the four statistical appendixes. Students of the field will also find the essay on authorities useful.

RUSSELL C. EWING

University of Arizona

*Chronology of Failure.* By Hamilton Fish Armstrong. Macmillan Company, New York, 1940. Pp. 202.

This is the story of the collapse of the French Republic. It is not surprising that such a speedy and thorough defeat of a supposedly impregnable nation should be the occasion of the writing of quite a few books. In addition to this book, there has appeared recently the explanations given in works by André Maurois, *Tragedy in France*, *Suicide of a Democracy* by Heinz Pol, and *J'Accuse* by André Simone. All of these men have undertaken the task of being diagnosticians. The trained student of history knows what a difficult task this is. Historians are still seeking final explanations for the disintegration of the Roman Empire, for the Religious Upheaval of the sixteenth



century, for the collapse of the French Monarchy in the French Revolution, and in our own day for the World Crisis of 1929. Political institutions are different from mathematical propositions. They have no exact answers. There is more the element of the debatable in the social sciences. It is no different with the phenomenon of more recent times in France. Different men give different reasons. Historians of the future evaluating the same problem will see more clearly than contemporary observers.

Mr. Armstrong analyses this very complex situation and gives us the following explanations. (1) France was divided politically and socially, even since 1789. "This created cliques in the French Army and diminished the national will to resistance" (p. 181). (2) France was served by mediocre politicians, often engrossed with personal feuds. (3) "France had a Maginot Line in the mind." This gave the French a false sense of security much as "the English Channel and the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans have given to the English and the Americans" (p. 183). (4) The German Army had superior resources, organization, and striking power. The victory of 1918 had made the French quite complacent. The desperate situation of the Germans made them more inventive and aggressive. "To the failure of the French imagination was added a failure of the French will" (p. 195). Armstrong warns his readers that too much blame must not be put on the Popular Front. Obviously Mr. Armstrong still has a great deal of faith in the French Republic.

Mr. Petain has given the world his own explanation for the failure of the French. "Not so strong as 22 years ago, we had also fewer friends, too few children, too few arms, too few allies. There is the cause of our defeat" (p. 129). Mr. Petain mentions "too few children," an argument not mentioned by Armstrong and yet quite important.

None of these writers take up the problem of the Freemasons in the history of France. It may be that one of the reasons for her unnatural collapse will be found in the work of this institution. The book is interesting reading and eminently worthwhile. But observers will have to wait until all the documents are available before a more adequate explanation can be given to this ever recurring historical phenomenon, i.e., the rise and fall of nations.

EDWARD V. CARDINAL

Loyola University, Chicago

*Frontiers of the Northwest, A History of the Upper Missouri Valley.*

By Harold E. Briggs. D. Appleton-Century Company, New York, 1940. Pp. xiv, 629.

The American frontier advance went ahead on irregular lines from first to last. Ever since the Irish and Germans moved southwest from Pennsylvania through the Shenandoah Valley, the pioneer has fol-

lowed varying attractive forces in directions that would make a complete frontier map look like a crazy quilt. Though the general trend was westward, one finds that settlement went up the water-courses, reversed itself in cross-country farming treks, hurried over large gaps to the Columbia or the Sacramento and San Joaquin, and then turned completely about as men from the Pacific Slope rushed to get to the mining fields before the easterners arrived.

The Missouri Valley frontier was of all the most irregular in its development of habitation, although the basic pattern of fur trader and missionary, buffalo man and cattle herder, miner and townsman, reproduced itself in that area quite as faithfully as it did in other western sections. The states of the Rockies north of New Mexico and the two Dakotas formed the region under study in this volume, what might be called the last frontier in the language of Paxson. The chief interest in the story attaches to this "last" character, for of all the sections this one is least known and least appreciated. In giving us a detailed account of its history Professor Briggs has merited the thanks of a wide public.

The author offers generous gratitude to those who have furnished him with data for his book, but one cannot read the work without feeling that Briggs is a master of the geography and the documentation. The chapters fairly bristle with new and striking information, in such narratives as the Calamity Jane story and the sketch of the Ghost Town histories. The research student will henceforward use this as a standard reference. Although a few slips occur, such as the placing of Cherry Creek in the vicinity of Pike's Peak, the reviewer found what material he could check to be most carefully appraised and annotated. Numerous photographs give added color to the descriptions of western life. The bibliography is full and particularized. The index is thorough.

W. EUGENE SHIELS

Loyola University, Chicago

*Academic Culture in the Spanish Colonies.* By John Tate Lanning. Oxford University Press, London, New York, Toronto, 1940. Pp. ix, 149.

Professor Lanning here publishes five essays dealing with the universities of the Spanish colonies, the teaching of philosophy and medicine, and the development of public health services in the Americas. He disarms criticism by warning the reader that this little book is only the preliminary, the *avant-coureur* of a large work which is to cover ten topics more or less related under the general character of "academic culture." Yet it is possible that these brief essays take on an added importance just because they indicate the lines of the future ponderous work.

The author does not lack appreciation of the large achievement made by Spanish colonial universities; but he is also properly critical of their organization, their methods, and results. In his approach he aims at being friendly and intelligent. In addition, he is evidently well-trained in the modern techniques of historical research. A wealth of facts, evidence, documents has been assembled by him, and thus the first half of his great task is completed. The second part of his work will be to fit these together so as to bring out the truth behind the facts. To do this a balanced knowledge which we reverence as wisdom, will be required.

Professor Lanning has something of that balanced knowledge, but slips here and there in his book indicate a lack of fullness of knowledge, as might be expected from a glance at the vast fields he has under scrutiny. The tendency to weigh the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries exclusively in the scales of the twentieth is one such slip. He is, for instance (pp. 23-24), amused that Vergara in 1602 should see nothing incongruous in asking for a university for Los Charcas while at the same time asking that a tribunal of the Inquisition be set up there. If this amusement is a naïve confession that he envisages a modern eclectic, not to say anarchic, university confronting a completely repressive authority, the author has misunderstood extremely important facts about the seventeenth-century Spanish colony. Again, the longest of the five essays is labelled "The Last Stand of the Schoolmen," which impresses one as an announcement of the death of scholasticism, a report which, to quote Mark Twain, is at least exaggerated. Scholastic philosophy is still very much alive. The essay seems to accept the historical falsehood that scholastic philosophy relied upon authority rather than upon reason and that it was the enemy of scientific research. Undoubtedly, Professor Lanning will examine other of the traditional biases and expose them fully in his larger work, as he has done with some in this present contribution.

W. KANE

Loyola University, Chicago